IBN KHALDÛN

THE MUQADDIMAH

An Introduction to History

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

IN THREE VOLUMES

2

BOLLINGEN SERIES XLIII

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

(The use of abbreviations has been avoided as much as possible, but most works cited in the footnotes are provided with full bibliographical data only on their first occurrence in each volume. Thereafter, reference is by short title, with volume and page numbers referring to the edition already cited. The first occurrence of each work can be located with the help of the Index, at the end of Vol. 3.)

A, B, etc.	Sigla used to denote Ibn Khaldûn MSS, described in 1:xc ff., above.
Autobiography	MUḤAMMAD TÂWÎT AṬ-ṬANJÎ (ed.). *at-Ta'rîf bi-Ibn Khaldûn wa-riḥlatuhû gharban wa-sharqan.* Cairo, 1370 [1951].
Bombaci	A. BOMBACI. "Postille alla traduzione De Slane della *Muqaddimah* di Ibn Ḫaldûn," *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, N.S. III (1949), 439–72.
Bulaq	NAṢR AL-HÛRÎNÎ (ed.). *Ibn Khaldûn: Muqaddimah.* Bulaq, 1274 [1857].
Concordance	A. J. WENSINCK, J. P. MENSING, *et alii. Concordance et Indices de la tradition musulmane.* Leiden, 1936——.
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Leiden and London, 1913–34. (A new edition began to appear in 1954.)
EI Supplement	———. *Supplement.* Leiden and London, 1938.
GAL	C. BROCKELMANN. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.* Weimar, 1898; Berlin, 1902.
GAL, Suppl.	———. ———. *Supplementbände.* Leiden, 1937–42.
GAL (2nd ed.)	———. ———. Leiden, 1943–49.

Handbook	A. J. WENSINCK. *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition.* Leiden, 1927.
'Ibar	IBN KHALDÛN. *Kitâb al-'Ibar wa-dîwân al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar.* Bulaq, 1284 [1867/68].
de Slane (tr.)	W. M. DE SLANE (tr.). *Ibn Khaldoun: Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale.* Algiers, 1852–56.
Issawi	C. ISSAWI (tr.). *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis* (1332–1406). London, 1950.
Paris edition	E. QUATREMÈRE (ed.). *Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun.* Vols. XVI–XVIII of the *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). Paris, 1858.
( )	Contextual sense supplied. Cf. I:cxii, above.
[ ]	Translator's interpolations.
< >	MS supplied.
* *	Asterisks enclose passages for which variant (usually, earlier) texts are translated at the foot of the page, in italic.

Chapter III

(CONCLUDED)

[32] *The ranks of royal and governmental authority and the titles that go with those ranks.* II, 1

It [433] should be known that, by himself, the ruler is weak, and he carries a heavy load. He must look for help from his fellow men. He needs their help for the necessities of life and for all his other requirements. How much more, then, does he need it to exercise political leadership over his own species, over the creatures and servants of God whom God entrusted to him as subjects. He must defend and protect the community from its enemies. He must enforce restraining laws among the people, in order to prevent mutual hostility and attacks upon property. This includes improving the safety of the roads.[434] He must cause the people to act in their own best interests, and he must supervise such general matters involving their livelihood and mutual dealings as foodstuffs and weights and measures, in order to prevent cheating. II, 2
[435] He must look after the mint, in order to protect the currency used by the people in their mutual dealings, against fraud.[436] He must exercise political leadership and get people to submit to him to the degree he desires and be satisfied, both with his intentions regarding them and with the fact that he alone has all the glory and they have none. This requires an extraordinary measure of psychology.[437] A noble sage has said: "Moving mountains from their places is easier for me than to influence people psychologically.[437a]

It is better that such help be sought from persons close

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[433] Cf. Issawi, p. 115; G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de textes de sociologie* (Algiers, 1951), pp. 86–96, translating our pp. 3–19 and 35–37.

[434] Cf. also p. 199, below.

[435] Cf. 1:463, above.

[436] Cf. 1:464, above.

[437] Lit., "caring for (influencing) the hearts . . ."

[437a] Cf. the similar saying ascribed to Luqmân in al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtâr al-ḥikam*, Spanish tr. H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial* (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, No. 141) (Tübingen, 1879), pp. 339 f. Cf. also al-Jâḥiẓ, *Kitâb Kitmân as-sirr*, in *Majmû' Rasâ'il al-Jâḥiẓ*, ed. P. Kraus and M. Ṭ. al-Ḥâjirî (Cairo, 1943), p. 41.

to the ruler through common descent, common upbringing, or old attachment to the dynasty. This makes such persons and the ruler work together in the same spirit. God said: "Give me my brother Aaron as helper (wazir) from my family. Give me strength through him and let him participate in my business." [438]

The person from whom the ruler seeks help may help him with the sword, or with the pen, or with advice and knowledge, or by keeping the people from crowding upon him and diverting him from the supervision of their affairs. (The ruler may) also entrust the supervision of the whole realm to him and rely upon his competence and ability for the task. Therefore, the help the ruler seeks may be given by one man, or it may be distributed among several individuals.

Each of the different (instruments) through which help may be given has many different subdivisions. "The pen" has such subdivisions, for instance, as "the pen of letters and correspondence," "the pen of diplomas [439] and fiefs," and "the pen of bookkeeping," which means the offices of chief of tax collections and allowances and of minister of the army.

II, 3 "The sword" includes such subdivisions, for instance, as the offices of chief of military operations, chief of police, chief of the postal service,[440] and administration of the border regions.

It should further be known that governmental positions in Islam fell under the caliphate, because the institution of the caliphate was both religious and worldly, as we have mentioned before.[441] The religious laws govern all (governmental positions) and apply to each one of them in all its aspects, because the religious law governs all the actions of human beings.

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[438] Qur'ân 20.28–32 (30–33).

[439] *Ṣakk* means both diplomas conferring privileges and checks, i.e., notes entitling the bearer to some kind of payment.

[440] The postal service (*barîd*) includes the intelligence service.

[441] Cf. 1:387, above.

Jurists,[442] therefore, are concerned with the rank of ruler or sultan and with the conditions under which it is assumed, whether by gaining control over the caliphate [443]—this is what is meant by sultan—[444] or by the caliph delegating (power)—that is what they mean by wazir, as will be mentioned. (They are also concerned with) the extent of (the ruler's) jurisdiction over legal, financial, and other political matters, which may be either absolute or circumscribed. Furthermore, (they are concerned with the causes) that necessitate (the ruler's) removal, should (such causes) present themselves, and with other things connected with the ruler or sultan. Jurists are likewise concerned with all the positions under the ruler and sultan, such as the wazirate, the tax collector's office, and the administrative functions.[445] Jurists must concern themselves with all these things, because, as we have mentioned before, in Islam the caliphate is an institution of the Muslim religious law, and as such determines the position of the ruler or sultan.

However, when we discuss royal and governmental positions, it will be as something required by the nature of civilization and human existence. It will not be under the aspect of particular religious laws. This, one knows, is not our intention in this book. There is no need to go into details with regard to the religious laws governing these positions. The subject is fully treated in the books on administration

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[442] The function of the *faqîh* belongs to the religious law, but, in view of the preceding remarks, Ibn Khaldûn argues that he is legitimately concerned with the laws and conditions of worldly politics, both theoretically and practically.

[443] Surdon and Bercher: "independently of the caliphate." Ibn Khaldûn has in the mind the situation in which the Sultan usurps some power that belongs *de iure* to the caliphate.

[444] The parenthesis is found in the older texts, but appears in the margin of C and is omitted in D.

[445] *Wilâyah* may mean the appointive power, like *tawliyah*. Cf. below, p. 16, l. 4, and p. 19, l. 9. It may also refer to provincial administration. Here, however, it must be understood in the sense in which it is employed in the chapter headings of al-Mâwardî's *Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*, as "taking charge of" various administrative functions.

(*al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*), such as the work (of that title) by Judge Abû l-Ḥasan al-Mâwardî and the works of other distinguished jurists. Those who want to know the details should look them up there. If we discuss the caliphal positions and treat them individually, it is only in order to make the
II, 4 distinction between them and the governmental (*sulṭân*) positions clear, and not in order to make a thorough study of their legal status. This is not the purpose of our book. Thus, we shall discuss those matters only as the necessary result of the nature of civilization in human existence.

God gives success.

The wazirate

The wazirate is the mother of governmental functions and royal ranks. The name itself simply means "help." *Wizârah* (wazirate) is derived either from *mu'âzarah* "help," or from *wizr* "load," as if the wazir were helping the person whom he supports to carry his burdens and charges. Thus, the meaning comes down to no more than "help." [446]

We mentioned before, at the beginning of this section,[447] that the conditions and activities of the ruler are restricted to four fields:

(1) (His activities) may concern ways and means of protecting the community, such as the supervision of soldiers, armaments, war operations, and other matters concerned with military protection and aggression. The person in charge is the wazir, as the term was customarily used in the old dynasties in the East, and as it is still used at this time in the West.

(2) Or, they may concern correspondence with persons far away from the ruler in place or in time,[448] and the execution of orders concerning persons with whom the ruler has

[446] Cf. S. D. Goitein, "The Origin of the Vizierate and Its True Character," in *Islamic Culture*, XVI (1942), 380–92.

[447] Ibn Khaldûn presumably refers here to his remarks on p. 3, above.

[448] Writing is always praised in Arabic literature as a means of bridging distances in space and time. This explains the rather inappropriate reference to time in this context. Cf. also, pp. 356 and 377, below.

no direct contact. The man in charge is the secretary (*kâtib*).

(3) Or, they may concern matters of tax collection and expenditures, and the safe handling of these things in all their aspects. The man in charge is the chief of tax and financial matters. In the contemporary East, he is called the wazir.

(4) Or, they may concern ways to keep petitioners away from the ruler, so that they do not crowd upon him and divert him from his affairs. This task reverts to the doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*), who guards the door.

The (ruler's) activities do not extend beyond these four fields. Each royal and governmental function belongs to one of them. However, the most important field is the one that requires giving general assistance in connection with everything under the ruler's direct control. This means constant contact with the ruler and participation in all his governmental activities. (All the activities) that concern some particular group of people or some particular department are of lower rank. (Among such activities are) the (military) leadership of a border region, the administration of some special tax, or the supervision of some particular matter, such as surveillance (*ḥisbah*) of foodstuffs, or supervision of the mint.[449] All these activities are concerned with particular conditions. The persons in charge are, therefore, subordinate to those in general supervision, and the latter outrank them. II, 5

It was this way throughout the whole pre-Islamic period. When Islam appeared on the scene and power was vested in the caliph, the forms of royal authority no longer existed, and all its functions disappeared, except for some advisory and consultative ones that were natural and continued to exist because they were unavoidable. The Prophet used to ask the men around him for advice and to consult them on both general and special (private) matters. In addition, he discussed other very special affairs with Abû Bakr. Certain Arabs familiar with the situation in the Persian, Byzantine,

[449] Cf. 1:462 ff., above.

and Abyssinian dynasties, called Abû Bakr, therefore, Muḥammad's "wazir." The word *wazîr* was not known (originally) among the Muslims, because the simplicity of Islam had done away with royal ranks. The same relationship (as that between Muḥammad and Abû Bakr) existed between 'Umar and Abû Bakr, and between 'Alî and 'Umar, and 'Uthmân and 'Umar.

No specific ranks existed among the (early Muslims) in the fields of tax collection, expenditures, and bookkeeping.
II, 6 The Muslims were illiterate Arabs who did not know how to write and keep books. For bookkeeping they employed Jews, Christians, or certain non-Arab clients versed in it. (Bookkeeping) was little known among them. Their nobles did not know it well, because illiteracy was their distinctive characteristic.

Likewise, no specific rank existed among (the early Muslims) in the field of (official) correspondence and (the transmission in writing) of orders to be executed. They were illiterate, and everyone could be trusted to keep a statement secret and to forward it safely (to its destination). Also, there were no political matters that would have required the use of (confidential secretaries), because the caliphate was a religious matter and had nothing to do with power politics. Furthermore, secretarial skill had not yet become a craft, its best (products or representatives) recommended to the caliph. Every individual was capable of explaining what he wanted in the most eloquent manner. The only thing lacking was the (technical ability to) write. (For this,) the caliph always appointed someone who knew how to write well, to do such writing as there was occasion for.

Keeping petitioners away from the gates (of the caliph's court) was something that the religious law forbade (the caliphs) to do, and they did not do it. However, when the caliphate changed to royal authority and when royal forms and titles made their appearance, the first thing the dynasty did was to bar the masses from access (to the ruler). The rulers feared that their lives were in danger from attacks by

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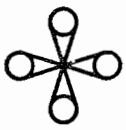

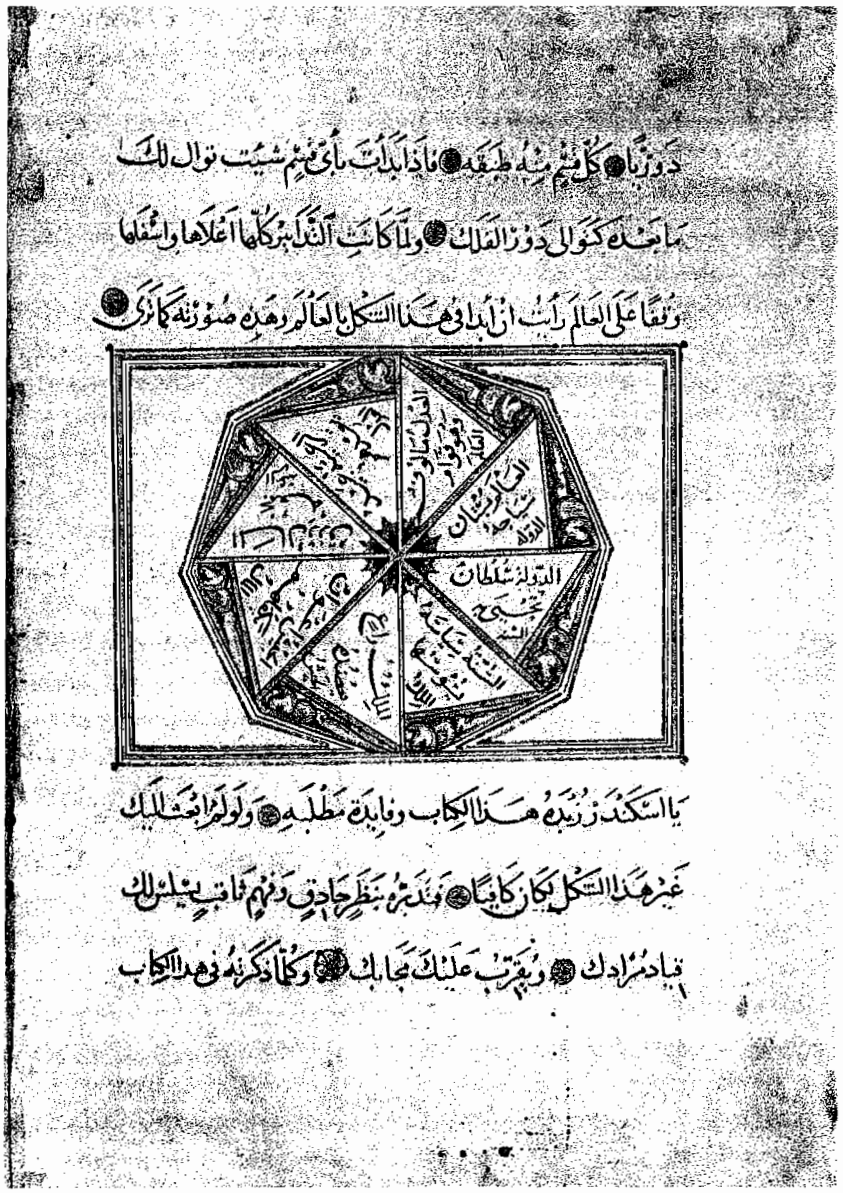

The Saying on Political Wisdom from the *Secretum Secretorum*

From MS. Reis el-küttap (Aşir I), 1002. Cf. 1:81 f. (n. 29 end), above

rebels and others, such as had happened to 'Umar, to 'Alî, to Mu'âwiyah, to 'Amr b. al-'Âṣ, and to others. Furthermore, were the people given free access (to the ruler), they would crowd upon him and divert him from state affairs. Therefore, the ruler appointed some person to take care of this for him and called him "doorkeeper" (*ḥâjib*). It has already been mentioned that 'Abd-al-Malik said to a doorkeeper whom he was appointing: "I have given you the office of keeper of my door, (and you are entitled to turn away anyone) save these three persons: the muezzin, because he is the missionary of God; the person in charge of the mails, for it (always) is something (important) that he brings; and the person in charge of food, lest it spoil." [450] II, 7

Afterwards, royal authority flourished. The (official) councilor and assistant for tribal and group affairs and good relations (with the various tribes and groups) made his appearance. For him, the name of wazir was used. Bookkeeping remained in the hands of clients, Jews, and Christians. For (official) documents, a special secretary was appointed, as a precaution against possible publication of the ruler's secrets, something that would be disastrous to his role as political leader. This secretary was not as important as the wazir, because he was needed only for written matters, and not for matters that could be discussed orally. At that time, speech still preserved its old position and was uncorrupted.[451] Therefore, the wazirate was the highest rank throughout the Umayyad dynasty. The wazir had general supervision of all matters delegated to him [452] and in which he acted in a consultative capacity, as well as all other matters of a defensive or offensive nature. This also entailed the supervision of the ministry (*dîwân*) of the army,[453] the as-

[450] Cf. 1:451, above.

[451] Cf. p. 11, below.

[452] Bulaq: "matters of administration."

[453] It should be kept in mind that actual direction of military operations did not come under the jurisdiction of the *dîwân al-jaysh*, which was mainly concerned with fiscal matters concerning the army. It might be called "bureau of army rolls." Cf. pp. 20 ff., below.

signment of military allowances at the beginning of each month, and other matters.

Then the 'Abbâsid dynasty made its appearance. Royal authority flourished. The royal ranks were many and high ones. At that time, the position of wazir assumed an added importance. He became the delegate (of the caliph) as executive authority. His rank in the dynasty became conspicuous. Everyone looked toward the wazirate and submitted to it. Supervision of the bookkeeping office was entrusted to (the wazir), because his function required him to distribute the military allowances. Thus, he had to supervise the collection and distribution of (the money), and the supervision of (that task) was added to his (duties). Furthermore, supervision of "the pen" and (official) correspondence was entrusted to him, in order to protect the ruler's secrets and to preserve good style, since the language of the great mass had (by that time) become corrupt. A seal was made to be placed upon the documents of the ruler, in order to
II, 8 preserve them from becoming public. (That seal) was entrusted to (the wazir).

Thus, the name of wazir came to include the functions of both "the sword" and "the pen," in addition to all the other things for which the wazirate stood and in addition to its function of giving assistance (to the ruler). In the days of ar-Rashîd, Ja'far b. Yaḥyâ was actually called "sultan," an indication of the general extent of his supervising power and control of the dynasty. The only governmental rank that he did not hold was the office of doorkeeper, and he did not hold it because he disdained to accept such an office.

Then the 'Abbâsid dynasty entered the period when control over the caliphs [454] was exercised (by others). That control was at times in the hands of the wazir. At other times, it was in the hands of the ruler. When the wazir gained control, it was necessary for him to be appointed the caliph's delegate to comply fully with the religious laws, as mentioned

[454] *Sic* C and D. The earlier text had "ruler."

before.[455] At that time, the wazirate was divided into an "executive wazirate"—this happened when the ruler was in control of his affairs and the wazir executed his decisions—and a "delegated wazirate"—which happened when the wazir controlled the ruler and the caliph [456] delegated all the affairs of the caliphate, leaving them to his supervision and independent judgment. This has caused a difference of opinion as to whether two wazirs could be appointed at the same time to the "delegated wazirate." The same difference of opinion has existed with regard to the appointment of two imams at the same time, as was mentioned before in connection with the laws governing the caliphate.

(The ruler) continued to be controlled in this way. Non-Arab rulers seized power. The identity of the caliphate was lost. The usurpers were not interested in adopting the caliphal titles,[457] and they disdained to share the same title with the wazirs, because the wazirs were their servants. Therefore, they used the names "amir" and "sultan." Those in control of the dynasty were called *amîr al-umarâ'* or *sulṭân*, in addition to the ornamental titles which the caliph used to give them, as can be seen in their surnames.[458] They left the name wazir to those who held the office (of wazir) in the private retinue of the caliph. So remained the case down to the end of the ('Abbâsid) dynasty. II, 9

In the course of this long period, language had become corrupt.[459] It became a craft practiced by certain people. Thus, it came to occupy an inferior position, and the wazirs were too proud to bother with it. Also, the wazirs were non-Arab,

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[455] Cf., for instance, 1:470 f., above.

[456] The passage from here to the end of the paragraph is not found in the earlier text of the *Muqaddimah*. It appears in the margin of B and C and in the text of D. The reference to an earlier passage (above, 1:393 f.) is to one of the later additions which were not yet found in the earlier text.

The problem of the possibility of appointing two men to the *wizârat at-tafwîḍ* is discussed by al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah* (Cairo, 1298/1881), p. 27.

[457] Cf. 1:379 and 469, above.

[458] Cf. 1:469 f., above.

[459] Cf. esp., 3:346, below.

and neither eloquence (nor good style) could be expected of their language. People from other classes were chosen for (matters requiring Arabic eloquence and a good style). It was their specialty, and it came to be something that was at the service of (and subordinate to) the wazir.

The name *amîr* was restricted to the men in charge of war operations and the army and related matters, although (the amir) had power over the other ranks and exercised control over everything, either as (the ruler's) delegate or through being in control (of the government). This remained the situation.

Very recently, the Turkish dynasty has made its appearance in Egypt. (The Turkish rulers) noticed that the wazirate had lost its identity, because the (amirs) had been too proud to accept it and had left it to men who were inclined to hold it in the service of the secluded (and powerless) caliph. The authority of the wazir had become secondary to that of the amir. (The wazirate) had become a subordinate, ineffectual office. Consequently, the persons who held high rank in the (Turkish) dynasty (as, for example, the amirs), disdained to use the name of wazir. The person in charge of legal decisions and supervision of the army at the present time, they call "deputy" (*nâ'ib*).[460] They used the name wazir to designate (the person in charge of) tax collection.

The Umayyads in Spain at first continued to use the name wazir in its original meaning. Later, they subdivided the functions of the wazir into several parts. For each function, they appointed a special wazir. They appointed a wazir to furnish an accounting of (government) finances; another
II, 10 for (official) correspondence; another to take care of the needs of those who had suffered wrongs; and another to supervise the situation of people in the border regions. A (special) house was prepared for (all these wazirs). There, they sat upon carpets spread out for them and executed the orders of

[460] Bulaq adds: "The name doorkeeper continued to be used in its original meaning."

the ruler, each in the field entrusted to him. One of the wazirs was appointed liaison officer between the wazirs and the caliph. He had a higher position than the others, because he had constant contact with the ruler. His seat was higher than that of the other wazirs. He was distinguished by the title of "doorkeeper" (*ḥâjib*). So it continued down to the end of the (Umayyad) dynasty. The function and rank of *ḥâjib* took precedence over the other ranks. Eventually, the *reyes de taïfas* came to adopt the title. The most important among them at that time was called "doorkeeper" (*ḥâjib*), as we shall mention.[461]

Then, the Shî'ah dynasty (the 'Ubaydid-Fâṭimids) made its appearance in Ifrîqiyah and al-Qayrawân. The people who supported it were firmly rooted in desert life. Therefore, they at first neglected such functions and did not use the proper names for them. Eventually, however, the dynasty reached the stage of sedentary culture, and (people) came to follow the tradition of the two preceding dynasties (the Umayyads and the 'Abbâsids) with regard to the use of titles, as the history of the ('Ubaydid-Fâṭimid dynasty) reveals.

When, later on, the Almohad dynasty made its appearance, it at first neglected the matter because of its desert attitude, but eventually it, too, adopted names and titles. The name wazir was used in its original meaning. Later the tradition of the (Spanish) Umayyad dynasty was followed with regard to government matters and the name wazir was used for the person who guarded the ruler in his court and saw to it that embassies and visitors to the ruler used the proper forms of greeting and address, and that the requisite manners were observed in his presence. The office of doorkeeper was considered by (the later Almohads) a much higher one.[462] It has continued to be this way down to the present time.

In the Turkish dynasty in the East, the (official) who sees to it that people use the proper modes of address and II, *11*

[461] Cf. p. 14, below.

[462] This seems to be the meaning of the Arabic words which usually signify "was taken away from him . . ."

greeting at court and when embassies are presented to the ruler, is called the *dawâdâr*.[463] His office includes control of the "private secretary" (*kâtib as-sirr*) and of the postmasters (intelligence agents) who are active in the ruler's interest both far and near. Such is the condition of the Turkish dynasty at this time.

God takes charge of affairs.

The office of doorkeeper (ḥijâbah)[464]

We have already mentioned [465] that in the Umayyad and 'Abbâsid dynasties the title of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) was restricted to the person who guarded the ruler from the common people and would not give them access to him, or only in such ways, and at such times, as he determined. (The office of doorkeeper) was lower in rank at that time than the other functions and subordinate to them, because the wazir could intervene whenever he saw fit. This was the situation during the whole 'Abbâsid period, and the situation still persists at this time. In Egypt, (the office of doorkeeper) is subordinate to the person in charge of the highest function there, who is called "deputy" (*nâ'ib*).

In the Umayyad dynasty in Spain, the office of doorkeeper was that of the person who guarded the ruler from his entourage and from the common people. He was the liaison officer between the ruler and the wazirs and lower (officials). In the (Umayyad) dynasty, the office of doorkeeper was an extremely high position, as (Umayyad) history shows. Men like Ibn Ḥudayr [466] and others held the office of doorkeeper in (the Umayyad dynasty).

Later, when the (Umayyad) dynasty came under the control of others, the person in control was called doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*), because the office of doorkeeper had been such a distinguished one. Al-Manṣûr b. Abî 'Âmir, as well as his

[463] Or *dawîdâr*; cf. p. 28, below.

[464] Cf. also pp. 111 ff., below.

[465] Cf. pp. 8 f., above.

[466] Abû l-Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad, d. 320 [A.D. 932]. Cf. also R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV[6] (1869), 158.

two sons,[467] were *ḥâjib*s. After they had openly adopted the external forms of royal authority, they were succeeded by the *reyes de taïfas*. The latter, also, did not fail to use the title of *ḥâjib*. It was considered an honor to possess it. The most powerful of (the *reyes de taïfas*) used the royal style and titles, and then inevitably mentioned the titles *ḥâjib* and *dhû l-wizâratayn* (Holder of the Two Wazirates), meaning the wazirates of "the sword" and "the pen." The title of *ḥâjib* referred to the office that guarded the ruler from the common people and from his entourage. *Dhû l-wizâratayn* referred to the fact that (the holder of the title) combined the functions of "the sword" and "the pen." II, *12*

In the dynasties of the Maghrib and Ifrîqiyah, no mention was made of the title of (doorkeeper), on account of their Bedouin attitude. Occasionally, but rarely, it is found in the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimid) dynasty in Egypt. That was at the time when (the 'Ubaydid-Fâṭimids) had become powerful and used to sedentary culture.

In the Almohad dynasty which made its appearance (subsequently), sedentary culture, which calls for the use of titles and the separation of government functions with distinctive names, only became firmly established late (in the dynasty). The only rank they had at first was that of wazir, which they used for the secretary who participated with the ruler in the administration of his special (private) affairs. Men such as Ibn 'Aṭîyah [468] and 'Abd-as-Salâm al-Kûmî [469] held the position. (Such a wazir) had, in addition to his main duty, to take care of bookkeeping and all the financial business. Later on, the name of wazir was given to relatives of the (Almohad) dynasty, such as Ibn Jâmi' [470] and others. The name of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) was not known at that time in the (Almohad) dynasty.

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[467] Cf. 1:380, above.

[468] He died in 553 [1158]. Cf. H. Pérès in *Hespéris*, XVIII (1934), 25 ff.

[469] He was active in the latter part of the twelfth century. Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 237; de Slane (tr.), II, 193.

[470] He was active in the early thirteenth century. Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 250 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 225, 227 ff.

In the Ḥafṣid dynasty of Ifrîqiyah, the top position was at first in the hands of a wazir who gave advice and counsel. He was called "*Shaykh* of the Almohads." He had to take care of appointments and dismissals, the leadership of the army, and war operations. Bookkeeping and the ministry (*dîwân* of tax collection) were another, separate rank. The person in charge of it was called *Ṣâḥib al-ashghâl* (Manager of Financial Affairs).[471] He had complete charge of income and expenditures. He audited the finances, collected payments, and punished defaulters. One condition was that he be an Almohad. "The pen" was also a separate office under (the Almohads). It was only entrusted to a person with good knowledge of (official) correspondence and who could be
II, *13* trusted with secrets. Since people (of consequence in the dynasty) had no professional knowledge of writing and the proper use of their language for (official) correspondence, a particular descent was not a condition of appointment to that office.

The royal authority of the (Ḥafṣid) ruler was very far-flung, and a great number of dependents lived in his house. Therefore, he needed a steward to be in charge of his house. (That steward had the duty) properly to apportion and fix the salaries, allowances, garments, kitchen and stable expenditures, and other things. He was in control of the stores (in the treasuries) and had the duty of telling the tax collectors to provide for (the quantities and amounts of money) needed. He was called doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*). Occasionally, the function of signing (official) documents [472] was added to his duties, if he happened to have a good knowledge of writing. However, that function was occasionally given to somebody else. It continued to be this way. The ruler stayed in seclusion,[473] and the doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) became the liaison officer between the people and all the officials. In the later (years)

[471] Cf. I:xxxvii, above, and p. 24, below; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides* (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger, Vols. VIII and XI) (Paris, 1940–47), II, 56 ff., 66.

[472] On the office of the *'alâmah*, cf. I:xli, above.

[473] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV^6 (1869), 158.

of the dynasty, the offices of "the sword" and of war operations were added to his duties. At this time it also became his duty to give advice and counsel. Thus, his office became the highest in rank and included all government functions. For some time after (the reign of) the twelfth ruler [474] of the (Ḥafṣids), the government was controlled by others, and the ruler kept in seclusion. Afterwards, his grandson Sultan Abû l-'Abbâs, regained control of his affairs. He removed the vestiges of seclusion and (outside) control by abolishing the office of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*), which had been the stepping stone toward (control of the government).[475] He handled all his affairs himself without asking anyone else for help. This is the situation at the present time.

There is no trace of the title of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) among the Zanâtah dynasties in the Maghrib, of which the most important is the dynasty of the Merinids. Leadership of war operations and of the army belongs to the wazir. The rank of "the pen," as far as it is concerned with bookkeeping and (official) correspondence, goes to the person who knows these things well, even though it may be in the private possession of certain houses among followers of the dynasty. Sometimes, II, *14*
(the office) is kept in (the same family), sometimes it is shared with others.

They have a separate rank for the office (whose function it is to) guard the ruler's door and to protect the ruler himself from the common people. The person who holds that office is called by them *mizwâr*,[476] that is, commandant of the elite troops (*jindâr*) who are employed at the court of the ruler and responsible for executing his orders, enforcing the punishments he metes out, executing the severe measures he takes, and guarding the inmates of his prisons. Their

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[474] Abû Bakr, A.D. 1318–1346. Cf. n. 155 to this chapter, above.

[475] However, the title was retained for an honorary office. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 55.

[476] A Berber word meaning "first." R. Brunschvig, II, 59, vocalizes *Mazwâr*. Berber forms, for instance, are *ameçwar* (cf. E. Ibañez, *Diccionario rifeño-español* [Madrid, 1949], p. 28*a*) and *amzuwar* (? according to G. Mercier in *Journal asiatique*, CCV [1924], 316).

chief (the *mizwâr*) has charge of the court. He has to see to it that people behave properly in the (reception) hall where the common people (are received). His office is something like a minor wazirate.

The dynasty of the 'Abd-al-Wâdids shows no trace of any of these titles, nor does it have separate (government) functions, because of its Bedouin character and insufficient (power). (The 'Abd-al-Wâdids) occasionally use the name doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) for the person in charge of the ruler's personal household affairs, as was also the case in the Ḥafṣid dynasty. He is given combined charge of bookkeeping and (official) documents, as also was the case among (the Ḥafṣids). The reason for this is that (the 'Abd-al-Wâdids) simply followed the tradition of the dynasty to which they had been subservient and whose propaganda they had been supporting when they started their career.

Present-day Spaniards call the person in charge of bookkeeping and of the ruler's activities and of all the other financial matters, *wakîl* (manager). The wazir (there) has the same duties as the wazir (usually has), but he is also in charge of (official) correspondence. The ruler (himself) puts his signature to all documents. Thus, the Spaniards do not have a separate office of signer of documents (*'alâmah*) as other dynasties have.

In the Turkish dynasty in Egypt, the name of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) is used for persons of authority (*ḥâkim*) among the men who hold power, that is, the Turks. These persons have to enforce the law among the people in the town. There are numerous (*ḥâjib*s). The office of (*ḥâjib*) among (the Turks)
II, 15 is lower than that of *nâ'ib*, which has general jurisdiction over both the ruling class and the common people. The *nâ'ib* has the authority to appoint and remove certain officials at the proper times. He may grant and fix small salaries. His orders and decrees are executed as those of the ruler. He is the ruler's delegate in every respect. The doorkeepers (*ḥâjib*), on the other hand, have jurisdiction over the various classes of common people and over the soldiers only when a com-

plaint (against them) is lodged with them. They can use force against those who do not want to submit to (their) judgment. They rank below the *nâ'ib*.

In the Turkish dynasty, the wazir is the person in charge of collecting all the different kinds of taxes: the land tax, customs duties, and the poll tax. He also (is in charge of) the disposition of (the tax revenue) for government expenditures and the fixed stipends (for soldiers and government employees). In addition, he can appoint or remove all officials, whatever their rank and description, who are concerned with tax collection and disbursement.[477] It is a custom of (the Turks) that the wazir be appointed from among the Copts in charge of the office of bookkeeping and tax collection, because in Egypt they have been familiar with these matters since ancient times. Occasionally, the ruler appoints to that office a member of the ruling group, one of the Turkish grandees or one of their descendants, as occasion may arise.

God administers and governs all affairs in His wisdom. There is no God but Him.

The ministry (dîwân) *of* (*financial*) *operations and taxation*

The ministry of taxation is an office that is necessary to the royal authority. It is concerned with tax operations. It II, *16*
guards the rights of the dynasty in the matters of income and expenditures. It takes a census of the names of all soldiers, fixes their salaries, and pays out their allowances at the proper times. In this connection recourse is had to rules set up by the chiefs of (tax) operations and the stewards of the dynasty. They are all written down in a book which gives all the details concerning income and expenditures. It is based upon a good deal of accounting, which is mastered only by those who have considerable skill in (tax) operations. The book is called the *dîwân*. At the same time, (the word

[477] *Ṭanfîdh* in this sense occurs again, p. 24, l. 3, below.

dîwân) designates the place where the officials who are concerned with these matters have their offices.

The name is said to have had the following origin. One day, Khosraw looked at the secretaries in his ministry (*dîwân*). They were all engaged in their separate calculations, and it looked as if they were talking to themselves. The king exclaimed: "*Dêwâneh*"—which is Persian for "crazy."[478] As a result, the place where they were working was called by that name. The ending *-eh* was dropped, because the word was so much used, and dropping the *-eh* made it easier to pronounce. The word thus became *dîwân*. Later, it came to signify the (tax) book which contained the rules and computations.

Another story is that *dîwân* is the Persian name for the devils. The secretaries were called "devils" because of their quick comprehension, their understanding of both the obvious and the difficult, and their ability to combine random and disparate facts. The name was then extended to designate the offices where they worked. In this sense, the name *dîwân* was taken over by the secretaries in charge of (official) correspondence and used to designate the place where their offices were located in the ruler's court, as will be mentioned later on.[479]

One person is in charge of this office. He supervises all the operations of this kind. Each branch has its own supervisor. In some dynasties supervision of the army, of military fiefs,
II, 17 of keeping count of allowances, and of other (such) things, is constituted as separate offices. (Whether this is done or not) depends on the organization of a given dynasty and the arrangements made by its first rulers.

It should be known that the office of (tax collections) originates in dynasties only when their power and superiority

[478] Cf. also p. 407, below. For the popular etymologies of the word *dîwân* mentioned here, cf. the beginning of the eighth chapter of al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*, p. 189. They are often cited; cf., for instance, the old *Kitâb al-Kuttâb* by 'Abdallâh al-Baghdâdî, ed. D. Sourdel in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* (Damascus), XIV (1954), 137.

[479] Cf. pp. 26 f. and 64, below.

and their interest in the different aspects of royal authority and in the ways of efficient administration have become firmly established. The first to set up the *dîwân* in the Muslim dynasty was 'Umar.[480] The reason is said to have been the arrival of Abû Hurayrah with money from al-Baḥrayn. (The Muslims) thought that it was a very large sum, and they had trouble with its distribution. They tried to count the money and to establish how it should be paid out for allowances and claims. On that occasion, Khâlid b. al-Walîd advised the use of the *dîwân*. He said: "I have seen the rulers of Syria keeping a *dîwân*." 'Umar accepted the idea from Khâlid.

It has also been said that the person who advised 'Umar to introduce the *dîwân* was al-Hurmuzân.[481] He noticed that (military) missions were dispatched without a *dîwân* (a muster roll). He asked ('Umar): "Who would know if some of (the soldiers) disappeared? Those who remain behind might leave their places and abscond with the money that had been given to them for their services (if they could assume that their desertion would not be noticed). Such things should be noted down exactly in a book. Therefore, establish a *dîwân* for them." 'Umar asked what the word *dîwân* meant, and it was explained to him. When he agreed to (have a *dîwân*), he ordered 'Aqîl b. Abî Ṭâlib,[482] Makhramah b. Nawfal,[483] and Jubayr b. Muṭ'im,[484] all of them secretaries of the Quraysh, to write down the *dîwân* of the Muslim army.

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[480] The following stories about the introduction of the *dîwân* were also derived from al-Mâwardî, *loc. cit.* Ibn Khaldûn conflated the stories concerning Abû Hurayrah (cf. I. Goldziher in *EI*, *s.v.* "Abû Huraira") and Khâlid b. al-Walîd (cf. K. V. Zetterstéen in *EI*, *s.v.*) and also the stories concerning al-Hurmuzân and the appointment of 'Aqîl, etc. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), p. 312.

[481] The ruler of al-Ahwâz, who was captured during the conquest of the 'Irâq.

[482] 'Aqîl, an older brother of 'Alî, died *ca.* 680. Cf., for instance, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb* (Hyderabad, 1325–27/1907–9), VII, 254.

[483] He died in 54 [674]. Cf. an-Nawawî, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1842–47), pp. 543 f.

[484] He died between 56 and 59 [675/76 and 678/79]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, II, 63 f. The correct vocalization Muṭ'im is indicated in MSS. B, C, and D.

(The *dîwân* was arranged) according to family relationships and began with the relatives of the Prophet and continued according to the degree of relationship. This was the beginning of the ministry (*dîwân*) of the army.

Az-Zuhrî [485] reported on the authority of Sa'îd b. al-Musayyab [486] that this took place in al-Muḥarram of the year twenty [December, 640/January, 641].

After the advent of Islam, the ministry (*dîwân*) of the
II, 18 land tax and tax collections remained as it had been. The [487] (*dîwân*) of the 'Irâq used Persian, and that of Syria Byzantine Greek. The secretaries of the *dîwân*s were Muslim subjects of the two groups. Then, with the appearance of 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwân, the form of the state became that of royal authority. People turned from the low standard of desert life to the splendor of sedentary culture and from the simplicity of illiteracy to the sophistication of literacy. Experts in writing and bookkeeping made their appearance among the Arabs and their clients. Thus, 'Abd-al-Malik ordered Sulaymân b. Sa'd, then governor of the Jordan (province), to introduce the use of Arabic in the *dîwân* of Syria. Sulaymân completed the task in exactly one year to the day. Sarḥûn,[488] 'Abd-al-Malik's secretary, looked at (the situation) and said to the Byzantine secretaries: "Seek you a living in another craft, because God has taken this one from you."

Al-Ḥajjâj ordered his secretary Ṣâliḥ b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân to introduce the use of Arabic, instead of Persian, in the *dîwân* of the 'Irâq. Ṣâliḥ knew how to write both Arabic and Persian. He had learned it from Zâdânfarrûkh, his predecessor as secretary to al-Ḥajjâj. When Zâdân was killed in the war against 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. al-Ash'ath,[489] al-Ḥajjâj ap-

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[485] Cf. n. 38 to Ibn Khaldûn's Introduction, above.

[486] He died around 100 [718/19]. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 224 (n. 1).

[487] The following two paragraphs are derived from al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*, pp. 192 f. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 340 (n. 2).

[488] The name was read in this form by Ibn Khaldûn. It is thought originally to have been Sarjûn, from Greek Sergios.

[489] In 85 [704]. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (New York, 1947), pp. 88 f.

pointed Ṣâliḥ as his successor. (Ṣâliḥ now carried out al-Ḥajjâj's order and introduced the use of Arabic in the *dîwân*). He succeeded in doing that and in overcoming the reluctance of the Persian secretaries. 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd b. Yaḥyâ [490] used to say: "Ṣâliḥ was an excellent man. He was a great boon to the secretaries."

Later on, in the 'Abbâsid dynasty, the office was added to the duties of (the wazir) who supervised the man in charge of it. This was the case under the Barmecides and the Banû Sahl b. Nawbakht and other 'Abbâsid wazirs.

Certain religious laws attach to the office. They concern the army, the income and expenditures of the treasury, and II, *19* the differing tax situations of the different regions, which depend on whether they had surrendered (peacefully) to the Muslim conquerors or had been conquered by force. Then, there is the question as to who makes appointment to the office. There are also the conditions governing the person in charge and the secretaries, as well as the rules according to which the accounts are to be kept. All (these legal problems) belong to the books on administration (*al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*) and are written down in them. It is not the purpose of this book to deal with them. We discuss the subject only as it has to do with the nature of royal authority, in the discussion of which we are presently engaged.

This office constitutes a large part of all royal authority. In fact, it is the third of its basic pillars. Royal authority requires soldiers, money, and the means to communicate with those who are absent. The ruler, therefore, needs persons to help him in the matters concerned with "the sword," "the pen," and finances. Thus, the person who holds the office (of tax collections) has (a good) part of the royal authority for himself.

This was the case under the Umayyaḍ dynasty in Spain and under its successors, the *reyes de taïfas*. In the Almohad dynasty, the man in charge of (the office) was an Almohad.

[490] The great secretary, author of the famous *Epistle* quoted below, pp. 29 ff.

He had complete freedom to levy, collect, and handle money, to control the activities of officials and agents in this connection, and then to make disbursements in the proper amounts and at the proper times. He was known as *Ṣâḥib al-ashghâl* (financial affairs manager). Occasionally, in some places, the office was held by persons who had a good understanding of it, but were not Almohads.[491]

The Ḥafṣids gained control over Ifrîqiyah at the time when the exodus from Spain took place. Exiled (Spanish) notables came to (the Ḥafṣids).[492] Among them, there were some who had been employed in this (type of work) in Spain, such as the Banû Sa'îd,[493] the lords of Alcalá near Granada, who were known as the Banû Abî l-Ḥusayn. (The Ḥafṣids) liked to have them for this (type of work). They entrusted them with the supervision of (tax) affairs, which was what they had been doing in Spain. They employed them
II, 20 and the Almohads alternately for this purpose. Later on, the accountants and secretaries took the office over for themselves, and the Almohads lost it. As the position of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) became more and more important, and as his executive power came to extend over all government affairs, the institution of the *Ṣâhib al-ashghâl* ceased to be influential.[494] The person in charge of it was dominated by the doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) and became (no more than) a mere tax collector. He lost the authority he had formerly had in the dynasty.

In the contemporary Merinid dynasty, the accounting of the land tax and (military) allowances is in the hands of one man. He audits all accounts. Recourse is had to his *dîwân*, and his authority is second (only) to the authority of the ruler or wazir. His signature attests to the correctness of the accounts dealing with the land tax and (military) allowances.

These are the principal governmental ranks and functions. They are high ranks, involving the exercise of general authority and (requiring) direct contact with the ruler.

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[491] Cf. I:xxxvii, and p. 16, above.

[492] Cf. I:xxxvi, above.

[493] The family of the famous historian. Cf. n. 80 to Ch. I, above, and 3:445, below. Cf. also *'Ibar*, VI, 294 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 369 ff.

[494] Cf. also p. 16, above.

In the Turkish dynasty, the functions (under discussion) are divided. The person in charge of the *dîwân* of (military) allowances is known as inspector of the army (*nâẓir al-jaysh*). The person in charge of finances is called the wazir. He has supervision over the dynasty's *dîwân* of general tax collection. This is the highest rank among the men who are in charge of financial matters. Among (the Turks), supervision of financial matters is spread over many ranks, because the dynasty rules a large (territory) and exercises great powers, and its finances and taxes are too vast to be handled by one man all by himself, however competent. Therefore, for the general supervision of (financial affairs), the man known as wazir is appointed. In spite of his (important position), he is second to one of the clients of the ruler who shares in the ruler's group feeling and belongs to the military (caste) and who is called *Ustâdh-ad-dâr*.[495] This official outranks the wazir, who does all he can to do his bidding. He is one of the great amirs of the dynasty and belongs to the army and the military (caste). II, 21

Other functions are subordinate to that of (the wazir) among (the Turks). All of them have reference to financial matters and bookkeeping, and are restricted in their authority to particular matters. There is, for instance, the inspector of the privy purse (*nâẓir al-khâṣṣ*) — that is, the person who handles the ruler's private finances, such as concern his fiefs or his shares in the land tax and taxable lands that are not part of the general Muslim fisc.[496] He is under the control of the amir, the *Ustâdh-ad-dâr*, but if the wazir is an army man, the *Ustâdh-ad-dâr* has no authority over him. The inspector of the privy purse also is under the control of the treasurer of the finances of the ruler, one of the latter's mamelukes, who is called *Khâzindâr* (treasurer), because his office is concerned with the private property of the ruler. Such is the nomenclature [497] used in connection with the function of (financial

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[495] Or *Ustâdâr*.

[496] D, and possibly C, add: "which is <not?> under his supervision."

[497] *Sic* C and D. The older text (and C before correction) had: "This clarifies the function . . ."

administration) in the Turkish dynasty in the East. We have mentioned how it was handled in the Maghrib.

God governs all affairs. There is no Lord except Him.

The ministry (dîwân) *of* (*official*) *correspondence and writing*

This office is not required by the nature of royal authority. Many dynasties were able to dispense with it completely, as, for example, the dynasties rooted in the desert and which were not affected by the refinements of sedentary culture and high development of the crafts.

In the Muslim dynasty, the Arabic language situation and (the custom of) expressing what one wanted to express in good form intensified the need for the office. Thus, writing
II, 22 came to convey, as a rule, the essence of a matter in better stylistic form than was possible in oral expression. The secretary to an (Arab) amir was customarily a relative and one of the great of his tribe. This was the case with the caliphs and leading personalities among the men around Muḥammad in Syria and the 'Irâq, because of the great reliability and genuine discretion (of relatives and tribesmen).

When the language became corrupt and a craft (that had to be learned),[498] (the office) was entrusted to those who knew (Arabic) well. Under the 'Abbâsids, it was a high office. The secretary issued documents freely, and signed his own name to them at the end. He sealed them with the seal of the ruler, which was a signet upon which the name of the ruler or his emblem was engraved. It was impressed on a red clay mixed with water and called sealing clay. The document was folded and glued, and then both sides was sealed with (the seal). Later on, the documents were issued in the name of the ruler, and the secretary (merely) affixed his signature (*'alâmah*) [499] to them at the beginning or end. He could choose where he wanted to put it as well as its wording.

The office then lost standing through the fact that officials of other government ranks gained in the ruler's esteem or

[498] Cf. p. 11, above, and 3:346, below.

[499] Cf. I:xli, and p. 16, above.

because the wazir gained control over (the ruler). The signature of a secretary became ineffective (as a sign of authority) and was replaced by the signature of his superior, and this was now considered decisive. (The secretary) affixed his official signature, but the signature of his superior made the document valid. This happened in the later (years) of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, when the office of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) gained in esteem and the doorkeeper became the delegate of the ruler and then came to control him. The signature of the secretary became ineffective (as a sign of authority) but was still affixed to documents, in acknowledgment of its former importance. The doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*) made it the rule for the secretary to sign letters of his by affixing a handwritten (note) for which he [500] could choose any formula of ratification he wished. The secretary obeyed him and affixed the usual mark. So long as II, 23
the ruler was in control of his own affairs, he saw to the matter himself (and made it the rule for the secretary) to affix the signature.

One of the functions of the secretary's office is the *tawqî'*. It means that the secretary sits in front of the ruler during his public audiences and notes down (*yuwaqqi'*), in the most concise and stylistically most perfect manner, the decisions he receives from the ruler concerning the petitions presented to him. These decisions are then issued as they are, or they are copied in a document which must be in the possession of the petitioner. The person who formulates a *tawqî'* needs a great deal of stylistic skill, so that the *tawqî'* has the correct form. Ja'far b. Yaḥyâ used to write *tawqî'*s on petitions for ar-Rashîd and to hand the petition (with the *tawqî'*) back to the petitioner. Stylists vied with each other to obtain his *tawqî'*s, in order to learn the different devices and kinds of good style from them. It has even been said that such petitions (with Ja'far's *tawqî'* on them) were sold for a dinar.[501] Things were handled in this manner in (various) dynasties.

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[500] I.e., the secretary rather than the *ḥâjib*.

[501] A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 71, quotes this statement.

It should be known that the person in charge of this function must be selected from among the upper classes and be a refined gentleman of great knowledge and with a good deal of stylistic ability. He will have to concern himself with the principal branches of scholarship, because such things may come up in the gatherings and audiences of the ruler. In addition, to be a companion of kings calls for good manners and the possession of good qualities of character. And he must know all the secrets of good style, to be able to write letters and find the words that conform to the meaning intended.

In some dynasties, the rank (of secretary) is entrusted to
II, 24 military men, since (some) dynasties, by their very nature, have no regard for scholarship, on account of the simplicity of group feeling (prevailing in them). The ruler gives his government offices and ranks to men who share in his group feeling. Appointments to the financial administration, to "the sword," and to the office of secretary, are made from among them. "The sword" requires no learning. But the financial administration and the secretaryship need it, for the latter requires a good style and the former requires accounting skill. Therefore, (rulers) select people from the (learned) class for the office of secretary, when there is need for it, and entrust it to them. However, the secretary is subordinate to the higher authority exercised by the men who share in the ruler's group feeling, and his authority derives from that of his superior. This is the case with the Turkish dynasty in the East at this time. The office of chief secretary belongs to the "secretary of state" (*Ṣâḥib al-inshâ'*). However, the secretary of state is under the control of an amir from among the men who share in the group feeling of the ruler. This man is known as the *Dawîdâr*.[502] The ruler usually relies upon him, trusts him, and confides in him, whereas he relies upon the (secretary) for matters that have to do with good style and the conformity (of the expression) to what one wants to express,[503] and other, related matters.

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[502] Cf. p. 14, above.

[503] Bulaq adds: "and the concealing of secrets."

The ruler who selects and picks a (secretary) from the rank and file has many conditions to consider. (These conditions governing the secretary) are best and most completely presented in the *Epistle* that the secretary 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd addressed to his fellow secretaries. It runs as follows: [504]

> And now: May God guard you who practice the craft of secretaryship, and may He keep you and give you success and guidance. There are prophets and messengers and highly honored kings. After them come different kinds of men, all of them made by God. They are of different kinds, even if they are all alike in fact. God occupied II, 25
> them with different kinds of crafts and various sorts of businesses, so that they might be able to make a living and earn their sustenance. He gave to you, assembled secretaries, the great opportunity to be men of education and gentlemen, to have knowledge and (good) judgment.[505] You bring out whatever is good in the caliphate and straighten out its affairs. Through your advice, God improves the government for the benefit of human beings and makes their countries civilized. The ruler cannot dispense with you. You alone make him a competent ruler. Your position with regard to rulers is that (you

[504] 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd b. Yaḥyâ perished in the debacle of his Umayyad masters in 132 [750]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 105. His *Epistle* is found in al-Jahshiyârî, *Wuzarâ'*, ed. H. von Mžik (Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, No. 1) (Leipzig, 1926), fols. 35*b*–39*b*, and in Ibn Ḥamdûn, *Tadhkirah*, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2948, Vol. I, fols. 123*a*–125*b*. In both cases the text differs slightly in some passages from what we find in Ibn Khaldûn. The text in al-Qalqashandî, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shâ* (Cairo, 1331–38/1913–19), I, 85–89, is identical with that in Ibn Khaldûn. Ibn Khaldûn and al-Qalqashandî may have used a common source, but it seems rather that al-Qalqashandî copied his text from the *Muqaddimah*, as he also quotes Ibn Khaldûn on another occasion without mentioning his name (cf. n. 546 to this chapter, below). This text was also published, with some unexplained rearrangement, by M. Kurd 'Alî, *Rasâ'il al-bulaghâ'* (2d ed.; Cairo, 1331/1913), pp. 172–75. A separate edition of the *Epistle* (Tunis, 1318), is known to me only from the *GAL* reference, *loc. cit.*

[505] The MSS have *riwâyah*, which is meaningless in the context. Bulaq, therefore, appears to have corrected *riwâyah* to *razânah* "good judgment." The original text, as in al-Jahshiyârî, was *rawîyah* "reflection, (good) judgment."

are) the ears through which they hear, the eyes through which they see, the tongues through which they speak, and the hands through which they touch. May God give you, therefore, enjoyment of the excellent craft with which He has distinguished you, and may He not deprive you of the great favors that He has shown unto you.

No craftsman needs more than you to combine all praiseworthy good traits and all memorable and highly regarded excellent qualities, O secretaries, if you aspire to fit the description given of you in this letter. The secretary needs on his own account, and his master, who trusts him with his important affairs, expects him, to be mild where mildness is needed, to be understanding where judgment is needed, to be enterprising where enterprise is needed, to be hesitant where hesitation is needed. He must prefer modesty, justice, and fairness. He must keep secrets. He must be faithful in difficult circumstances. He must know (beforehand) about the calamities that may come. He must be able to put things in their proper places and misfortunes into their proper categories. He must have studied every branch of learning and know it well, and if he does not know it well, he must at least have acquired an adequate amount of it. By virtue of his natural intelligence, good education, and outstanding experience, he must know what is going to happen to him before it happens, and he must know the result of his actions before action starts. He must make the proper preparations for everything, and he must set up everything in its proper, customary form.

II, *26*

Therefore, assembled secretaries, vie with each other to acquire the different kinds of education and to gain an understanding of religious matters. Start with knowledge of the Book of God and religious duties. Then, study the Arabic language, as that will give you a cultivated form of speech. Then, learn to write well, as that will be an ornament to your letters. Transmit poetry and acquaint yourselves with the rare expressions and ideas that poems

contain. Acquaint yourselves also with both Arab and non-Arab political events, and with the tales of (both groups) and the biographies describing them, as that will be helpful to you in your endeavors. Do not neglect to study accounting, for it is the mainstay of the land tax register.[506] Detest prejudices with all your heart, lofty ones as well as low ones, and all idle and contemptible things, for they bring humility and are the ruin of secretaryship. Do not let your craft be a low one. Guard against backbiting and calumny and the actions of stupid people. Beware of haughtiness, foolishness, and pride, for they mean acquiring hostility without (even the excuse of) hatred. Love each other in God in your craft. Advise your colleagues to practice it in a way befitting your virtuous, fair, and gifted predecessors.

If times go hard for one of you, be kind to him and console him, until everything be well with him again. Should old age make one of you unable to get around and pursue his livelihood and meet his friends, visit him and honor him and consult him, and profit from his outstanding experience and mature knowledge. Every one of you should be more concerned for his assistants, who may be useful when needed, than for his own children or brothers. II, 27
Should some praise come (to one of you) in the course of his work, he should ascribe the merit to his colleague; any blame he should bear all by himself. He should beware of mistakes and slips and of being annoyed when conditions change. For you, assembled secretaries, are more prompt to be blamed than Qur'ân readers,[507] and

[506] The edition of al-Qalqashandî here, and three lines below, vocalizes *al-kuttâb* "secretaries," instead of *al-kitâb*. Though seemingly possible, the reading *al-kuttâb* is certainly not correct here.

[507] This is how Ibn Khaldûn read and understood the word used here. The vocalization *al-qurrâ'* is expressly indicated in C. He might have had in mind the fact that, since everybody knows the Qur'ân, mistakes made by Qur'ân readers are easily spotted and blame assigned. However, the correct text is certainly that of al-Jahshiyârî and Ibn Ḥamdûn, who have *al-mar'ah* "a woman." The feminine singular also agrees better with the following *lahâ* "to her."

blame is more detrimental to you than to them. You know that everyone of you has a master, one who gives from his own as much as can be expected, and (every one of you) has the obligation to repay him, since he deserves it, with fidelity, gratefulness, tolerance, patience, good counsel, discretion, and active interest in his affairs, and to show (his good intentions) by his actions whenever his master needs him and his resources. Be conscious of (your obligations)—God give you success—in good and bad circumstances, in privation as in munificence and kindness, in happiness as in misfortune. Any member of this noble craft who has all these qualities has good qualities indeed.

If any one of you be appointed to an office, or if some matter that concerns God's children be turned over to one of you, he should think of God and choose obedience to Him. He should be kind to the weak and fair to those who have been wronged. All creatures are God's children. He loves most those who are kindest to His children. Furthermore, he should judge with justice, he should honor the noble (descendants of Muḥammad), augment the booty (gained in wars against infidels), and bring civilization to the country. He should be friendly to the subjects, and refrain from harming them. He should be humble and mild in his office. He should be kind in handling the land tax registers [508] and in calling in outstanding claims.

You should explore the character of him with whom you associate. When his good and bad sides are known, you will be able to help him to do the good things that
II, 28 agree with him, and be able to contrive to keep him from the bad things he desires. You must be able to do that in the subtlest and best manner. You know that a person who is in charge of an animal and understands his job, endeavors to know the character of the animal. If it is

[508] Instead of *sijillât*, al-Jahshiyârî has what is certainly the more original text: *istiḥlâb* (*sic*, not *istijlâb*) "in milking his land tax."

inclined to gallop,[509] he does not goad it when he is riding it. If it is inclined to kick, he takes precautions with its forelegs. If he fears that it will shy, he takes precautions with its head. If it is restive, he gently subdues its desire to go where it wants to go. If it still continues, he pulls it slightly to the side, then has its halter loosened. This description of how to take care of an animal contains good points for those who want to lead human beings and deal with them, serve them, and have intimate contact with them. The secretary, with his excellent education, his noble craft, his subtlety, his frequent dealings with people who confer with him and discuss things with him and learn from him or fear his severity, needs to be kind to his associates,[509a] to flatter them, and to supply their wants, even more than the person in charge of an animal which cannot answer, does not know what is right, does not understand what is said to it, and goes only where its master who rides upon it makes it go. Be kind—God show mercy unto you—when you look after things. Use as much reflection and thought as possible. God permitting, you will thus escape harshness, annoyance, and rudeness on the part of your associates. They will be in agreement with you, and you will have their friendship and protection, if God wills.

None of you should have too sumptuous an office or go beyond the proper limits in his dress, his mount, his food, his drink, his house, his servants, or in the other things pertaining to his station, for, despite the nobility of the craft by which God has distinguished you, you are serv-

[509] D has *jamûḥan* "ungovernable," instead of *ramûḥan*. Though this seems to be a freehand correction or mistake of D, it may be noted that the text of al-Jahshiyârî and Ibn Ḥamdûn reads: "If it is inclined to gallop (*ramûḥan*), he takes precautions with the hind legs. If it is ungovernable (*jamûḥan*), he does not goad it when he is riding it. If it is inclined to kick [?], he takes precautions with the forelegs. If he fears that it will bite, he takes precautions with its head. . . ."

[509a] As becomes clear from this point on, the secretary's "associates," referred to in this paragraph, are his masters. He must know how to handle them, as a rider handles his horse.

ants who are not permitted to fall short in their service.
II, 29 You are caretakers whom one does not permit to be wasteful or spendthrift. Try to preserve your modesty by planned moderation in all the things I have mentioned and told you. Beware of the wastefulness of prodigality and the bad results of luxury. They engender poverty and bring about humiliation. People who (are prodigal and live in luxury) are put to shame, especially if they be secretaries and men of education.

Things repeat themselves. One thing contains the clue to another. Let yourselves be guided in your future undertakings by your previous experience. Then, choose the method of doing things that is most definite, most accurate, and that promises the best result. You should know that there is something that defeats accomplishment, namely, talking about things. The person who does it is prevented from using his knowledge and his ability to think. Therefore, everyone of you, while he is in his office, should endeavor to talk no more than is sufficient; he should be concise in the matters he brings up and in the answers he gives; and he should give thought to all the arguments he advances. His work will profit from that. It will prevent too much preoccupation with other things. He should implore God to grant him success and to support him with His guidance, for he must fear making mistakes that might hurt his body and (cast doubt upon) his intelligence and education. When any one of you says or thinks that the high quality and efficiency of his work is obviously the result of his own cleverness and knowledge of how to do things, he provokes God. God will let him depend upon himself alone, and then he will find that he is not adequate to his task. This is no secret to those who reflect.

None of you should say that he has a better understanding of affairs, or knows better how to handle difficult matters, than other members of his craft, than those who
II, 30 serve together with him. Of two persons, discerning

people consider him the more intelligent who throws off conceit and thinks his colleagues more intelligent and more skillful than he. But at any rate, both parties should acknowledge the excellence of God's favors. No one should let himself be deceived by his own opinions and consider himself free from mistakes. Nor should he strive to outdo his friends, equals, colleagues, or his family. Everybody must give praise to God, in humility in the face of His greatness, in meekness in the face of His might, and in fulfillment of the command to speak of God's favors.[510]

In this letter of mine, let me refer to the old proverb: "He who accepts good advice [511] is successful." This is the essence of this letter and the best that is said in it, after the references to God it contains. Therefore, I have placed it at the end, and I close the letter with it. May God take care of us and of you, assembled students and secretaries, in the same way He takes care of those whom, as He knows in His prescience, He will make happy and guide aright. He can do it. It is in His hand.

Farewell, and God's mercy and blessings upon you.

The police [512]

In Ifrîqiyah, the holder (of the office of chief of police) is at this time called the "magistrate" (*ḥâkim*). In Spain, he is called the "town chief" (*ṣâḥib al-madînah*). In the Turkish

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[510] Cf. Qur'ân 93.11 (11): "And as to the favors of your Lord, speak (of them)!"

[511] The correctness of this translation is borne out by the variant readings found in connection with this proverb. Instead of Ibn Khaldûn's *talzamuhû an-naṣîḥah*, al-Jahshiyârî (cf. also the text of al-Qalqashandî) reads: *yalzamu aṣ-ṣiḥḥah* "he who (speaks or acts) soundly is successful." Similarly, ar-Râghib al-Iṣfahânî, *Muḥâḍarât* (Cairo, 1287/1870), I, 181, who, however, understands the proverb to refer to sincerity and the avoidance of deceit. Al-Mubashshir, finally, ascribes the following version of the proverb to Aristotle (No. 59 of the sayings of Aristotle in the *Mukhtâr al-ḥikam*, ed. Badawî [Madrid, 1958], p. 195): *Ilzam aṣ-ṣiḥḥah yalzamka an-naṣr* "If you (speak or act) soundly, you will be successful," where *an-naṣr* takes the place of *al-'amal* in the other versions and clarifies the meaning of *al-'amal*. Cf. also al-Jâḥiẓ, *Bayân* (Cairo 1332/1914), II, 46.

[512] Cf. 1:456 f., above.

dynasty (in Egypt), he is called the "governor" (*wâlî*). It is an office that is subordinate to the person in charge of "the sword" in the dynasty, who at times uses the (chief of police) to execute his orders.

The office of (chief of) police was originally created by the 'Abbâsid dynasty. The person who held it had (a two-fold duty. He had,) firstly, to concern himself with crimes in the investigating stage, and, secondly, to execute the legal punishments. The religious law cannot concern itself with suspicions of possible criminal acts. It can concern itself only with executing the legal punishments. Political leadership, on the other hand, has to concern itself with the investigating stage, in which is (ascertained the commission of crimes) necessitating (legal punishments). It does this through the magistrate, who, being in the possession of all the circumstantial evidence, forces (the criminal) to confess, as is re-
II, 31 quired by the general (public) interest. The person in charge of the investigating stage and of executing afterwards the legal punishments due, when the judge has no (longer) anything to do with (the case), was called "chief of police." Occasionally, he was given sole jurisdiction over capital crimes and legal punishments, and those matters were taken away from the judge's jurisdiction. This rank was considered one of great reputation, and was entrusted to high military leaders and important clients of the court entourage. It implied no general executive power over all classes, its jurisdiction extending only over low and suspect elements and (involving) the restraining of turbulent and criminal people.

Among the Spanish Umayyads, the (office of chief of police) acquired great celebrity. It was divided into a "great police" and a "small police." The jurisdiction of the "great police" was made to extend over both the upper and the lower classes. It had jurisdiction over government dignitaries, and, in cases of wrongdoing, could restrain them, their relatives, and other persons of rank who were connected with them as clients. The chief of the "small police" was concerned only

with the common people. The chief of the "great police" had his seat at the gate of the palace of the ruler. He had footmen (*rajl*) who occupied places near him,[513] which they did not leave except to go about his business. (The office) was entrusted only to great personalities of the dynasty. It even became a stepping stone to the wazirate and to the office of doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*).

In the Almohad dynasty in the Maghrib, (the office) enjoyed a certain reputation, even though it did not have general (jurisdiction). It was entrusted only to important Almohad personalities. It did not have authority over government dignitaries. Nowadays, its importance has greatly decreased. It no longer is the preserve of Almohad personalities, and may be entrusted to any follower (of the dynasty) who (is able to) take charge of it.

In the Merinid dynasty at this time in the West, (the office) is vested in the houses of Merinid clients and followers. II, 32

In the Turkish dynasty in the East, (the office is entrusted) to Turkish personalities or to descendants of the people of the preceding Kurdish dynasty. (Incumbents) are chosen for (the office) in both regions [514] according to the energy and resolution they show in enforcing the law. The purpose is to cut down corruption, to stamp out criminality, to destroy and dissolve the homes and centers of criminal activity, and to enforce the punishments imposed by the religious law and by the political authorities, as concern for the general (public) interests in a town requires.

God causes the change of night and day.[515]

The admiralty

(The admiralty) is one of the ranks and functions of the dynasty in the realm of the Maghrib and Ifrîqiyah. It is

[513] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 159 f., who argues that *maqâ'id* here means "separate houses." But cf. also the phrase which always reoccurs in connection with certain traditions: *fa-l-yatabawwa' maq'adahû* (*fî n-nâr*).

[514] Apparently, in the East and the West.

[515] Cf. Qur'ân 24.44 (44).

subordinate to the person in charge of "the sword" and comes under his authority in many respects. In customary usage, the person in charge of the admiralty is called *Almiland*,[516] with an emphatic *l*. (The word) is derived from the language of the European Christians. It is the technical term for the office in their language.

The rank (of admiral) is restricted to the realm of Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib, because both Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib are on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Along its southern shore the lands of the Berbers extend from Ceuta to Alexandria and on to Syria. Along its northern shore are the countries of Spain and of the European Christians (Franks), the Slavs, and the Byzantines, also extending to Syria. It is called the Byzantine Sea or the Syrian Sea,[517] according to the people who inhabit its shores. Those who live along the coast and on the shores of both sides of the
II, 33 Mediterranean are more concerned with (maritime) conditions than any other maritime nation.

The Byzantines, the European Christians, and the Goths lived on the northern shore of the Mediterranean. Most of their wars and most of their commerce was by sea. They were skilled in navigating (the Mediterranean) and in naval war. When these people coveted the possession of the southern shore, as the Byzantines (coveted) Ifrîqiyah and as the Goths (coveted) the Maghrib, they crossed over in their fleets and took possession of it. Thus, they achieved superiority over the Berbers and deprived them of their power. They had populous cities there, such as Carthage, Sbeitla, Jalûlâ,[518] Murnâq,[519] Cherchel, and Tangier. The ancient master of Carthage used to fight the master of Rome and to send fleets

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[516] Catalan *almirant*, Castilian *almirante*, which, in turn, is a loan word from the Arabic. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 94 (n. 3), doubts the general usage of the term in northwestern Africa. It may, however, have been common in the spoken language rather than in literature.

[517] Cf. I:139, above.

[518] Situated a day's journey west of al-Qayrawân. Cf. R. Brunschvig, I, 304.

[519] Near Tunis.

loaded with armies and equipment to wage war against him. Thus, (seafaring) is a custom of the inhabitants of both shores of the Mediterranean, which was known in ancient as in modern times.

When the Muslims took possession of Egypt, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Âṣ and asked him to describe the sea to him. 'Amr replied: "The sea is a great creature upon which weak creatures ride—like worms upon a piece of wood." [520] Thus, he recommended at that time that the Muslims be kept away from seafaring. No Arab traveled by sea save those who did so without 'Umar's knowledge and were punished by him for it. 'Umar thus punished 'Arfajah b. Harthamah al-Azdî, the chief of the Bajîlah.[521] He sent him on a raid against Oman, and he learned (later that he had raided it by sea).[522] He disapproved of his having made the raid by sea, and told him so in no uncertain terms. Thus it remained until Mu'âwiyah's reign. He permitted the Muslims to go by sea and to wage the holy war in ships. The reason for this was II, *34* that on account of their Bedouin attitude, the Arabs were at first not skilled in navigation and seafaring, whereas the Byzantines and the European Christians, on account of their experience of the sea and the fact that they had grown up traveling in ships, were used to the sea and well trained in navigation.

The royal and governmental authority of the Arabs became firmly established and powerful at that time. The non-Arab nations became servants of the Arabs and were under their control. Every craftsman offered them his best services. They employed seagoing nations for their maritime needs. Their own experience of the sea and of navigation grew, and they turned out to be very expert. They wished to wage the

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[520] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales* ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), I, 2821, *anno* 28 [648/49]. Cf. also G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton Oriental Studies, No. 13) (Princeton, 1951), pp. 54 f.

[521] Cf. 1:55 and 268, above. Ibn Khaldûn probably refers to the events reported by aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 2546–48. There, however, 'Arfajah by no means plays the role ascribed to him here.

[522] The text in parenthesis is found in Bulaq.

holy war by sea. They constructed ships and galleys and loaded the fleet with men and weapons. They embarked the army and fighters to fight against the unbelievers across the sea. This was the special concern of the provinces and border regions closest to the shores of the Mediterranean, such as Syria, Ifrîqiyah, the Maghrib, and Spain. The caliph 'Abd-al-Malik recommended to Ḥassân b. an-Nu'mân,[523] the governor of Ifrîqiyah, that a shipyard [524] be set up in Tunis for the production of maritime implements, as he was desirous of waging the holy war. From there, the conquest of Sicily was achieved in the days of Ziyâdat-Allâh I b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Aghlab under the leadership of the chief mufti, Asad b. al-Furât.[525] Pantelleria [526] also was conquered in his day. Mu'âwiyah b. Ḥudayj [527] had been sent on a raid against Sicily in the days of Mu'âwiyah b. Abî Sufyân, but God had not enabled him to conquer it. It was conquered by the Aghlabid ruler and his general, Asad b. al-Furât.

II, *35* Thereafter, under the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids) and the (Spanish) Umayyads, the fleets of Ifrîqiyah and Spain constantly attacked each other's countries in civil war operations, and they thoroughly devastated the coastal regions. In the days of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân an-Nâṣir, the Spanish fleet had grown to about two hundred vessels, and the African fleet to the same number, or close to it. The fleet admiral in Spain was Ibn Rumâḥis. The port used by (the Spanish fleet) for docking and hoisting sail was Pechina and Almería. The fleet was assembled from all the provinces. Each region where ships were used contributed one fleet (unit) under the super-

[523] He is said to have died in 80 [699/700]. Adh-Dhahabî, *Ta'rîkh al-Islâm* (Cairo, 1367——/1947——), III, 244 f., on the other hand, also reports that it was 'Abd-al-Malik's successor, al-Walîd, who ordered the shipbuilding program stepped up, and that Ḥassân was still alive at that time.

[524] *Dâr aṣ-ṣinâ'ah*, from which "arsenal" is derived.

[525] For Asad, who was born in 142 [759/60] and died in 213 [818], the year after the conquest of Sicily had been initiated, cf. M. Amari and C. A. Nallino, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (Catania, 1933–39), I, 382 ff.

[526] The Arabic form *Qawṣarah* represents the ancient name of the island, Cossyra.

[527] He died in 52 [672]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, X, 203 f.; Amari and Nallino, *op. cit.*, I, 195 ff.

vision of a commander in charge of everything connected with fighting, weapons and combatants alike. There also was a captain who directed the movement of the fleet, using either the wind or oars. He also directed its anchoring in port. When the whole fleet was assembled for a large-scale raid or for important government business, it was manned in its home port. The ruler loaded it with men (drawn from) his best troops and clients, and placed them under the supervision of one commander, who belonged to the highest class of the people of his realm and to whom all were responsible. He then sent them off, and awaited their victorious return with booty.

During the time of the Muslim dynasty, the Muslims gained control over the whole Mediterranean. Their power and domination over it was vast. The Christian nations could do nothing against the Muslim fleets, anywhere in the Mediterranean. All the time, the Muslims rode its wave for conquest. There occurred then many well-known episodes of conquest and plunder. The Muslims took possession of all the islands that lie off its shores, such as Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza, Sardinia, Sicily, Pantelleria, Malta, Crete, Cyprus, and II, *36* of all the other provinces of the Byzantines and the European Christians (on its shores). Abû l-Qâsim ash-Shî'î [528] and his descendants sent their fleets on raids against the island of Genoa from al-Mahdîyah. They returned victorious with booty. Mujâhid al-'Âmirî, the master of Denia, one of the *reyes de taïfas*, conquered the island of Sardinia with his fleet in the year 405 [1014/15].[529] The Christians reconquered it in due course.

During all that (time), the Muslims were gaining control over the largest part of the high sea. Their fleets kept coming and going, and the Muslim armies crossed the sea in ships from Sicily to the great mainland opposite Sicily, on the northern shore. They fell upon the European Christian rulers

[528] Al-Qâ'im, the second Fâṭimid, who ruled from 934 to 946. The raids involving Genoa took place in 934/35.

[529] E. Lévi-Provençal in *EI*, *s.v.* "Mudjâhid," has 406.

and made massacres in their realms. This happened in the days of the Banû Abî l-Ḥusayn,[530] the rulers of Sicily, who supported the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimid) propaganda there. The Christian nations withdrew with their fleets to the north-eastern side of the Mediterranean, to the coastal regions inhabited by the European Christians and the Slavs, and to the Aegean islands,[531] and did not go beyond them. The Muslim fleet had pounced upon them as eagerly as lions upon their prey. They covered most of the surface of the Mediterranean with their equipment and numbers and traveled its lanes (on missions both) peaceful and warlike. Not a single Christian board floated on it.

Eventually, however, the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimid) and Umayyad dynasties weakened and softened and were affected by infirmity. Then, the Christians reached out for the eastern islands of the Mediterranean, such as Sicily, Crete, and Malta, and took possession of them. They pressed on against the shores of Syria during this interval, and took possession
II, 37 of Tripoli, Ascalon, Tyre, and Acco. They gained control over all the seaports of Syria. They conquered Jerusalem and built there a church as an outward manifestation of their religion and worship. They deprived the Banû Khazrûn of Tripolitania [532] and (they conquered) Gabès and Sfax, and imposed a poll tax upon their inhabitants. Then they took possession of al-Mahdîyah, the (original) seat of the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids), and took it away from the descendants of Buluggîn b. Zîrî. In the fifth [eleventh] century, they had the lead in the Mediterranean. In Egypt and Syria, interest in the fleet weakened and eventually ceased to exist. Since then, they have shown no concern for the naval matters with which they had been so exceedingly concerned under the 'Ubaydid-(-Fâṭimid) dynasty, as is known from 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimid) history. In consequence, the identity of the office of the ad-

[530] The Kalbite governors of Sicily in the latter part of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. Cf. Amari and Nallino, *op. cit.*, II, 386 ff.

[531] Lit., "islands of ar-Rûmâniyah." The latter term seems to represent *Romania*, the Byzantine Empire.

[532] Cf. also *'Ibar*, VII. 39 ff.; de Slane (tr.), III, 258 ff.

miralty was lost in those countries. It remained in Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib, but only there. At the present time, the western Mediterranean has large fleets and is very powerful. No enemy has trespassed on it or been able to do anything there.

In Lamtûnah (Almoravid) times, the admirals of the fleet in (the West) were the Banû Maymûn, chieftains from the peninsula of Cadiz,[533] which they (later on) handed over to (the Almohad) 'Abd-al-Mu'min, to whom they paid obedience. Their fleets, (assembled) from the countries on both shores, reached the number of one hundred.

In the sixth [twelfth] century, the Almohad dynasty flourished and had possession of both shores. The Almohads organized their fleet in the most perfect manner ever known and on the largest scale ever observed. Their admiral was Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣiqillî, who belonged to the Ṣadghiyân, a branch of the Sadwîkish,[534] who lived on the island of Jerba. The Christians had captured him there, and he had grown up among them. The ruler of Sicily (Roger II) selected him for his service and employed him in it, but he died and was succeeded by his son, whose anger (Aḥmad) somehow aroused. He feared for his life and went to Tunis, where he stayed with the chief of Tunis, one of the Banû 'Abd-al-Mu'min. He went on to Marrakech, and was received there by the caliph Yûsuf al-'Ashrî b. 'Abd-al-Mu'min[535] with great kindness and honor. (The caliph) gave him many presents and entrusted him with command of his fleet. (As commander of the fleet) he went to wage the holy war against the Christian nations. He did noteworthy and memorable deeds during the Almohad dynasty. II, 58

In his period, the Muslim fleet was of a size and quality never, to our knowledge, attained before or since. When Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn Yûsuf b. Ayyûb, the ruler of Egypt and Syria at this time, set out to recover the border cities (ports) of

[533] Cf. Amari and Nallino, *op. cit.*, III, 384.
[534] They were supposed to be branches of the Kutâmah Berbers.
[535] He ruled from 1163 to 1184.

Syria from the Christian nations and to cleanse Jerusalem of the abomination of unbelief and to rebuild it, one fleet of unbelievers after another came to the relief of the border cities (ports), from all the regions near Jerusalem which they controlled. They supported them with equipment and food. The fleet of Alexandria could not stand up against them. (The Christians) had had the upper hand in the eastern Mediterranean for so long, and they had numerous fleets there. The Muslims, on the other hand, had for a long time been too weak to offer them any resistance there, as we have mentioned. In this situation, Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn sent 'Abd-al-Karîm b. Munqidh, a member of the family of the Banû Munqidh, the rulers of Shayzar, as his ambassador to Ya'qûb al-Manṣûr, the Almohad ruler of the Maghrib at that time.[536] Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn had taken Shayzar away from the Banû Munqidh but had spared them to use them in his government. Now, he
II, 39 sent 'Abd-al-Karîm, a member of that (family), to the ruler of the Maghrib to ask for the support of his fleets, to prevent the fleets of the unbelievers from achieving their desire of bringing relief to the Christians in the Syrian border cities (ports). ('Abd-al-Karîm) carried a letter from (Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn) to that effect. The letter had been composed by (al-Qâḍî) al-Fâḍil al-Baysânî.[537] It began with these words: "May

[536] Ibn Khaldûn again refers to this famous event in the *Autobiography*, pp. 335 f., and in *'Ibar*, VI, 246; de Slane (tr.), II, 215. In *'Ibar*, the name of the ambassador is Abû l-Ḥârith 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, and this is the correct name, as shown by other sources. Abû l-Ḥârith 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. Muḥammad b. Munqidh lived from 523 to 600 [1129–1203/4]. Cf. also M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Algiers, 1951), I, 24.

According to *'Ibar*, the event took place in 585 [1189/90], but a date later in 1190 (and even as late as January, 1192) is considered probable. Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Mélanges R. Basset* (Paris, 1925), II, 203, and Sa'd Zaghlûl 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Alexandria University*, VI–VII (1952–53), 84–100. Sir Hamilton Gibb kindly called my attention to the article by Gaudefroy-Demombynes and informed me that the embassy is not mentioned in the extant portion of the *Barq*, the great historical work by the 'Imâd al-Iṣfahânî. For the naval situation in Saladin's time in general, cf. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXV (1955), 100–116.

[537] 'Abd-ar-Raḥîm b. 'Alî, 529–596 [1135–1200]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 316 (n. 1); *Suppl.*, I, 549 (n. 1).

God open to our Lord the gates of success and good fortune." The letter is quoted by the 'Imâd al-Iṣfahânî in the *Fatḥ al-Qudsî*.[538] Al-Manṣûr was greatly annoyed with the (members of the embassy),[539] because they did not address him as Commander of the Faithful; but he concealed his annoyance and treated them with great kindness and honor. He sent them back to (Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn) who had sent them, and did not comply with his request.

This (story) is evidence (for the facts that) the ruler of the Maghrib alone possessed a fleet, that the Christians controlled the eastern Mediterranean, and that the dynasties in Egypt and Syria at that time and later were not interested in naval matters or in building up government fleets.

Ya'qûb al-Manṣûr then died, and the Almohad dynasty became infirm. The Galician nations seized control of most of Spain. The Muslims took refuge in the coastal region and took possession of the islands of the western Mediterranean. They regained their former strength, and their power on the surface of the Mediterranean grew. Their fleets increased, and the strength of the Muslims became again equal to that of (the Christians). This happened in the time of (the Merinid) Sultan, Abû l-Ḥasan,[540] the Zanâtah ruler in the Maghrib. When he desired to wage the holy war, his fleet was as well equipped and numerous as that of the Christians.

Then, the naval strength of the Muslims declined once more, because of the weakness of the ruling dynasty. Mari- II, 40
time habits were forgotten under the impact of the strong

[538] The great historian, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, 519–597 [1125–1201]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 314 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 548 f. Bulaq has *al-Qussî*. The complete title is *al-Fatḥ al-Qussî fî l-fatḥ al-Qudsî*, and the work is quoted as *al-Fatḥ al-Qussî* or *al-Fatḥ al-Qudsî*. The letter is not mentioned in the edition by C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888). Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, refers to a similar letter in al-Qalqashandî, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shâ*, VI, 526–30. In this letter, al-Manṣûr is addressed as Commander of the Faithful. See following note.

[539] The plural suffix can hardly be understood differently, but, as stated in the *Autobiography*, pp. 335 f., the failure to address al-Manṣûr as Commander of the Faithful was that of the Qâḍî al-Fâḍil, the writer of the letter, who had acted deliberately. However, cf. the reference to the letter quoted by al-Qalqashandî, in the preceding note.

[540] Abû l-Ḥasan ruled from 1331 to 1351.

Bedouin attitude prevailing in the Maghrib, and as the result of the discontinuance of Spanish habits. The Christians resumed their former, famous maritime training, and (renewed) their constant activity in (the Mediterranean) and their experience with conditions there. (They again showed) their former superiority over others on the high seas of (the Mediterranean) and in (Mediterranean) shipping. The Muslims came to be strangers to the Mediterranean. The only exceptions are a few inhabitants of the coastal regions, who are active on (the sea). They ought to have many assistants and supporters, or they ought to have support from the dynasties to enable them to recruit help and to work toward the goal of (increased seafaring activities).

The rank (of admiral) has been preserved to this day in the dynasties of the Maghrib. There, the identity (of the admiralty is still preserved), and how to take care of a fleet, how to build ships and navigate them, is known. Perhaps some political opportunity will arise in the coastal countries, and the Muslims will (once again) ask the wind to blow against unbelief and unbelievers. The inhabitants of the Maghrib have it on the authority of the books of predictions that the Muslims will yet have to make a successful attack against the Christians and conquer the lands of the European Christians beyond the sea. This, it is said, will take place by sea.

"God is the friend of the believers." [541]

[33] *The different importance of the ranks of "the sword" and "the pen" in the (various) dynasties.*

It [542] should be known that both "the sword" and "the pen" are instruments for the ruler to use in his affairs. However, at the beginning of the dynasty, so long as its people are occupied in establishing power, the need for "the sword"

[541] Qur'ân 3.68 (61).
[542] Cf. Issawi, pp. 116 f.

is greater than that for "the pen." In that situation, "the pen" is merely a servant and agent of the ruler's authority, whereas "the sword" contributes active assistance. II, *41*

The same is the case at the end of the dynasty when its group feeling weakens, as we have mentioned, and its people decrease in number under the influence of senility, as we have stated before.[543] The dynasty then needs the support of the military. The dynasty's need of the military for the purpose of protection and defense is as strong then as it was at the beginning of (the dynasty) for the purpose of getting established. In these two situations, "the sword," thus, has the advantage over "the pen." At that time, the military have the higher rank. They enjoy more benefits and more splendid fiefs.

In mid-term of the dynasty, the ruler can to some degree dispense with "the sword." His power is firmly established. His only remaining desire is to obtain the fruits of royal authority, such as collecting taxes, holding (property), excelling other dynasties, and enforcing the law. "The pen" is helpful for (all) that. Therefore, the need for using it increases. The swords stay unused in their scabbards, unless something happens and they are called upon to repair a breach. For (purposes) other than that, (swords) are not needed. In this situation, the men of the pen have more authority. They occupy a higher rank. They enjoy more benefits and greater wealth and have a closer and more frequent and intimate contact with the ruler. At such times, (the pen) is the instrument the ruler uses to obtain the fruits of his royal authority. He uses it to supervise and administer his realm and to display its (excellent) condition. At such a time, the wazirs and the military can be dispensed with. They are kept away from the intimate circle of the ruler and have to be- II, *42*
ware of his moods.

It is in this sense that Abû Muslim wrote the following reply to al-Manṣûr when he ordered him to come (to him): "And now: We remember the following admonition of the

[543] Cf., for instance, 1:328 f. and 341 f., above

Persians: 'The most fear-ridden thing there is, is the wazirs when the mob has calmed down.' " [544]

This is how God proceeds with his servants.

[34] *The characteristic emblems of royal and government authority.*

It should be known that the ruler has emblems and arrangements that are the necessary result of pomp and ostentation. They are restricted to him, and by their use he is distinguished from his subjects, his intimates, and all other leaders in his dynasty.

We shall mention the best-known emblems as well as (our) knowledge permits. "And He knows more than any scholar." [545]

The "outfit" (âlah)

One of the emblems of royal authority is the "outfit" (*âlah*), that is, the display of banners and flags and the beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets and horns. In the *Book on Politics* ascribed to Aristotle, Aristotle mentioned that its real significance is to frighten the enemy in war.[546] Frightful sounds do have the psychological effect of causing terror. Indeed, as everyone knows from his own (experience), this is an emotional [547] element that plays a role on battlefields. The explanation given by Aristotle—if it was he who gave it—is correct in some respects. But the truth is that listening to music and sounds no doubt causes pleasure and emotion in the soul. The spiritual temper of man is thereby affected by a

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[544] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, III, 103, l. 20.

[545] Qur'ân 12.76 (76).

[546] Cf. the Arabic edition of the *Sirr al-asrâr* in 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân Badawî, *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum* (Cairo, 1954), p. 150, and the English tr. of the work in Roger Bacon, *Opera*, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920), V, 248. See also 1:81 and 210, above. The passage by Pseudo-Aristotle, and Ibn Khaldûn's comment on it, are referred to by al-Qalqashandî, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shâ*, IV, 9. No name is mentioned there, and the author of the quotation is introduced as a "thorough scholar." Cf. also n. 504 to this chapter, above.

[547] For *wijdânî*, cf. n. 277 to Ch. 1, above.

kind of drunkenness, which causes him to make light of difficulties and to be willing to die in the very condition in which he finds himself. This (state of affairs) exists even in dumb animals. Camels are influenced by the driver's call, and II, 43
horses are influenced by whistling and shouting, as everyone knows. The effect is greater when the sounds are harmonious ones, as in the instance of music.[548] It is known what happens to people who listen to music. The non-Arabs, therefore, take musical instruments, drums or trumpets, onto the battlefield with them. Singers with instruments surround the cavalcade of the ruler and sing. Thus, they move the souls of brave men emotionally and cause them to be willing to die.

In the wars of the Arabs (in northwestern Africa), we have seen persons in front of the cavalcade sing poetical songs and make music. The minds of heroes were stirred by the contents of the songs. They hurried to the battleground, and everybody went forth eagerly to meet his rival. The same was the case with the Zanâtah, one of the nations of the Maghrib. A poet went in advance of the battle lines and sang. His music was such as to move firmly anchored mountains and to cause men who would otherwise not think of it, to seek death. That music is called *tâẓûgâit* [549] by (the Zanâtah).

The origin of it all is the cheerfulness created in the soul (through music). It leads to bravery, just as drunkenness leads to (bravery), as the result of the cheerfulness which it produces. And God knows better.

The great number of flags, their manifold colors, and their

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[548] Cf. pp. 397 ff., below.

[549] The word is spelled with the transcription signs for Berber *ẓ* and *g* (cf. above, 1:67 (nn. 183, 185) and below, 3:129), and fully vocalized in C. It seems to be a genuine Berber word, though I have not succeeded in finding any discussion of it in the literature. De Slane's derivation from Arabic *zawâqî* is unlikely, not so much for phonetic reasons (the Arabic sounds might have been Berberized, as it happens) as in view of the fact that *zawâqî* means "crowing roosters" in Arabic, and is by no means a commonly used word. Cf. *Lisân al-'Arab* (Bulaq, 1300–1308/1882–90), XIX, 76.

A Berber word *tazouggit* "soufflet (coup donné sur la joue avec la main ouverte)" is mentioned by C. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire Touareg-Français* (Paris, 1951–52), IV, 1937, but it could hardly be connected with the word mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn.

length, are intended to cause fright, nothing more. (Fright) produces greater aggressiveness in the soul. Psychological conditions and reactions are strange. God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [550]

The various rulers and dynasties differ in their use of such emblems. Some of them use a great many, others few, according to the extent and importance of the given dynasty.

II, 44 Flags have been the insignia of war since the creation of the world.[551] The nations have always displayed them on battlefields and during raids. This was also the case in the time of the Prophet and that of the caliphs who succeeded him.

The Muslims, however, refrained from beating drums and blowing trumpets at the beginning of Islam. They wanted to avoid the coarseness of royal authority and do without royal customs. They also despised pomp, which has nothing whatever to do with the truth. The caliphate then came to be royal authority, and the Muslims learned to esteem the splendor and luxury of this world. Persian and Byzantine clients, subjects of the preceding (pre-Islamic) dynasties, mixed with them and showed them their ways of ostentation and luxury. Among the things the Muslims came to like was the "outfit" (*âlah*). Therefore, they used it and permitted their officials to use it, to increase the prestige of royal authority and its representatives. 'Abbâsid or 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimid) caliphs would often grant permission to display their flags to officials such as the master of a border region or the commander of an army. Such officials then, setting out on a mission or going from the house of the caliph or from their own houses to their offices, were accompanied by a cavalcade of people carrying flags and the attributes of the "outfit" (*âlah*). The only distinction between the cavalcade of an official and that of the caliph was the number of flags, or the use of particular colors for the caliph's flag. Thus, black was used for the flags of the 'Abbâsids. Their flags were black as a sign of mourning for the martyrs of their family, the

[550] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[551] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 160.

1.

2.

I. Muslim Coins

1. Arab-Sassanian dirham issued by al-Ḥajjâj, struck at Bishâpûr in the year 78 [697/98]
2. Umayyad dirham of the reformed type, dated 79 [698/99], struck at Damascus
3. Dinar of the Almohad Abû Ya'qûb Yûsuf I, without date or name of mint
4. Anonymous Almohad dirham, without date or name of mint
5. Triple dinar of Sultan Barqûq, struck at Cairo

3.

4.

5.

Hâshimites, and as a sign of reproach directed against the Umayyads who had killed them. Therefore, the 'Abbâsids were called "the black ones" (*al-musawwidah*).

When the Hâshimites divided into factions and the 'Alids (descendants of Abû Ṭâlib) went against the 'Abbâsids on every possible occasion, they wanted to differ from them in the color of their flag, and so they used white flags. There- II, 45
fore, they were called "the white ones" (*al-mubayyiḍah*). White was used by the 'Alids throughout the reign of the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids). It was also used by the 'Alids who seceded at that time in the East, such as the (Zaydî) missionaries in Ṭabaristân and in Ṣa'dah (in the Yemen), and those other ('Alids) who made propaganda for the extremist (Shî'ah), such as the Qarmaṭians. When al-Ma'mûn gave up wearing black and using the (black) insignia of his dynasty, he turned to green and used green flags.

(The details of the "outfit") could be increased ad infinitum. When al-'Azîz Nizâr set out to conquer Syria,[552] the "outfit" (*âlah*) of the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids) was composed of five hundred banners and five hundred trumpets. The Ṣinhâjah and the other Berber rulers in the Maghrib did not affect special colors, but they embroidered their flags in gold and made them of pure colored silk. They always permitted their officials to use these flags. But when the Almohads and, later on, the Zanâtah (Merinids) made their appearance, they restricted the use of the "outfit" (*âlah*) of drums and banners to the ruler, and forbade all other officials to use it. It formed a special cavalcade in the procession which followed immediately behind the ruler. It was called the "rear guard" (*sâqah*). They used a larger or smaller number (of instruments), according to the different customs of the various dynasties. Some of them restricted themselves to seven, as a lucky number. This was the case in the dynasties of the Almohads and the Banû al-Aḥmar (Naṣrids) in Spain. Others went up to ten or twenty, as was the case with the Zanâtah. In the days of Sultan Abû l-Ḥasan, as we learned person-

[552] In 367 [977].

ally,[553] it went up to one hundred drums and one hundred banners of colored silk interwoven with gold, both large and
II, 46 small. They permit their governors, officials, and generals to use one small flag of white linen and a small drum in wartime. They do not permit them any more.

The contemporary Turkish dynasty in the East uses, in the first place, one large flag, surmounted by a big tuft of hair. It is called the *châlîsh* or *chatr*.[554] (It [555] is used) with the army in general. Then, there is another flag (carried) over the ruler and called the *'iṣâbah* or *shatfah*.[556] It is the ruler's insignia. There are many other flags which they call *sanjaq*,[557] which means "flag" in (Turkish). They use an excessively large number of drums, which they call *kôs*. They permit any amir or general to use whatever (insignia) he desires, with the exception of the *'iṣâbah*,[558] which is reserved to the ruler.

The contemporary Galicians, a European Christian nation in Spain, use only a few flags, which fly high in the air. In addition, they make a kind of music with string and wind instruments on the battlefields. This is (all) the information we have about them and the non-Arab rulers who live beyond them.

"In the creation of the heavens and the earth and in the difference of your tongues and colors, there are, indeed, signs for those who know." [559]

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[553] That is, when Ibn Khaldûn was in Fez under Abû l-Ḥasan's successor, Abû 'Inân.

[554] C vocalizes *chitr*. Both, as well as the following *kôs*, are Persian words.

[555] The following reference to the *'iṣâbah* was added in the margin of C. It is found in the text of D.

[556] Cf. J. Sauvaget in *Mélanges Asiatiques publiés par la Société Asiatique*, (1940–41), p. 40. According to al-Qalqashandî, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shâ*, IV, 8, the *'iṣâbah* (apparently the same as the Arabic word for "turban") was a flag of yellow silk, embroidered in gold.

[557] Ibn Khaldûn mentions that Sayf-ad-dîn Ghâzî of Mosul, d. 544 [1149], was the first to have a *sanjaq* carried over his head. Cf. *'Ibar*, V, 239, following Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil* (Cairo, 1302/1885), XI, 62, *anno* 544.

[558] The original text had *chatr*. The correction to *'iṣâbah* is found in C, and then in D.

[559] Ibn Khaldûn conflated Qur'ân 30.22 (21) with passages like Qur'ân 3.190 (187). The Bulaq edition corrects the author and gives the exact text of Qur'ân 30.22 (21).

The throne (sarîr)

Throne, dais, couch, chair—(they all mean) pieces of wood or ottomans set up for the ruler, so that he may have a higher seat than the other people at court and so that he will not be on the same level with them. This has always been a royal custom, even before Islam and in the non-Arab dynasties. (The pre-Islamic rulers) sat upon thrones of gold. Solomon, the son of David, had a throne of ivory overlaid with II, 47
gold. However, dynasties use a throne only after they have become flourishing and luxurious, as is the case with all pomp, as we have stated.[560] Dynasties that are in the beginning stage and still keep the Bedouin attitude do not desire it.

The first to use a throne in Islam was Mu'âwiyah. He asked the people for permission to use one, saying that he had become corpulent.[560a] So they permitted him to use one, and he did. His example was followed by (all the later) Muslim rulers. (The use of an ornate throne) came to indicate a tendency toward pomp.

One day 'Amr b. al-'Âṣ was in his castle in Egypt, sitting on the ground with the Arabs. The Muqawqis [561] came to the castle. He had men carry out a throne of gold, so that he could sit upon it like a king. He sat on it in front of the Arabs. They were not jealous of him, because they felt that they had to give him the protection upon which they had agreed, and because they rejected royal pomp. Later on, the 'Abbâsids, the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids), and all the other Muslim rulers in both the East and the West, had thrones, daises, and couches that eclipsed (in splendor those of) the Persian and Roman Emperors.

God causes the change of night and day.[562]

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[560] Cf. 1:347 ff., above.

[560a] Cf. al-'Askarî, *Awâ'il*, Paris, MS. Ar. 5986, fol. 123*b*.

[561] For the celebrated, though still rather enigmatic personality who corresponds to the historical Cyrus, governor of Egypt at the end of the Byzantine domination, cf. A. Grohmann in *EI*, *s.v.* "al-Muḳawḳas." The form might be the Coptic article *p* plus *Caucas(ios)*, the Caucasian.

[562] Cf. Qur'ân 24.44 (44).

The mint [563]

(The mint) is concerned with the stamping of the dinars and dirhams used in (commercial) transactions. This is done with a die of iron, upon which pictures or words are engraved in reverse. The stamp is pressed upon the dinar or the dirham, and the designs (legends) of those engravings appear on the coin clearly and correctly. Before this is done, the standard of purity of the particular coin, the result of repeated refinings, is taken into consideration, and the individual dinars and dirhams are given the proper, fixed weight that has been agreed upon. Then, the number of coins (and
II, 48 not their weight only) can be made use of in transactions. If the individual pieces have not been given the weight fixed upon, then the weight of the coins must be taken into consideration.

The word *sikkah* (mint) refers to the stamp, that is, the piece of iron used for the purpose (of stamping the coins). The word was then used to designate the result of (the application of the stamp), that is, the engravings that appear upon dinars and dirhams. The word was further used to designate control of (the process of engraving) and supervision of the whole operation, of everything dealing with coinage and all the conditions that govern it. Such (control and supervision) is (exercised by) the office (of the mint). The word has thus come to designate (that office), and is customarily so used in governmental usage. It is an office that is necessary to the royal authority, for it enables people to distinguish between good and bad coins in their transactions. That (the coins) are not bad is guaranteed by the engravings known to have been stamped upon them by the ruler.

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[563] Cf. also 1:484 above. In Islam the subject of standards of coinage and the history of Muslim coinage belonged to political and legal science and were treated by al-Mâwardî at the end of the thirteenth chapter of the *Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*, pp. 146 ff. There, Ibn Khaldûn found his material for the older period. The subject also entered general historiography. For instance, Ibn al-Khaṭîb deals with the subject in his *History of Granada*, in so far as it concerns the period and locality treated by him; cf. *al-Iḥâṭah fî akhbâr Gharnâṭah* (Cairo, 1319/1901), I, 37.

The non-Arabs used (coins) and engraved special pictures on them, for example, a picture of the ruler at the time of issue, a fortress,[564] some animal or product, or something else. This remained the practice of the non-Arabs down to the end of their power. When Islam appeared, the practice was discontinued, because of the simplicity of Islam and the Bedouin attitude of the Arabs. In their transactions, they used gold and silver according to weight. They also had Persian dinars and dirhams. They used them, too, according to weight and employed them as their medium of exchange. The government paid no attention to the matter. As a result, the frauds practiced with dinars and dirhams eventually became very serious. According to the reports of Sa'îd b. al-Musayyab and Abû z-Zinâd,[565] 'Abd-al-Malik ordered al-Ḥajjâj to coin dirhams, and bad coins (began to) be distinguished from good ones. This took place in 74 [693/94], or, according to al-Madâ'inî,[566] in 75 [694/95]. In the year 76 [695/96], ('Abd-al-Malik) ordered that dirhams be coined in all the other regions. The legend upon them was: "God is one, God is the *ṣamad*." [567] II, 49

Later on, in the days of Yazîd b. 'Abd-al-Malik, Ibn Hubayrah became governor of the 'Irâq and improved the mint. Then Khâlid al-Qasrî, and after him Yûsuf b. 'Umar, made great efforts to improve it.

It is also said that the first to coin dinars and dirhams (in Islam) was Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubayr.[568] He did it in the year 70

[564] The Persian fire altar represented on Sassanian coins used by the early Muslims, was interpreted as a fortress.

[565] 'Abdallâh b. Dhakwân, d. between 130 and 132 [747/48 and 749/50]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 203 ff. For Ibn al-Musayyab, cf. n. 486 to this chapter, above.

[566] The famous early historian, 'Alî b. Muḥammad, *ca.* 132 [749/50] to 224 or 225 [839 or 839/40]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 140 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 214 f.

[567] Qur'ân 112.1–2 (1–2). For the meaning of *aṣ-ṣamad*, cf. F. Rosenthal in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (Jewish Social Studies, Publication No. 5) (New York, 1953), pp. 72 ff.

A coin of the reformed type from the year 77, which, however, has a much longer inscription, is reproduced in S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1875), I, 1 and pl. 1, 1.

[568] The date of a coin allegedly from the year 71 is discussed and rejected by J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), p. 117.

[689/90] in the 'Irâq, upon the order of his brother 'Abd-allâh, who was then in charge in the Ḥijâz. The legend on his coins was, on the one side, "blessing," and on the other (there was) the name of God. A year later, al-Ḥajjâj changed the legend, and the new legend was: "In the name of God — al-Ḥajjâj." [569]

The weight of the dirhams was fixed at what it had been in the days of 'Umar. At the beginning of Islam, the weight of the dirham had been six *dânaq*s. The weight of the *mithqâl* was one dirham and three-sevenths of a dirham, so that ten dirhams made seven *mithqâl*s. The reason for this was that the weight of the dirham had varied in the days of the Persians. A dirham corresponding to the weight of a *mithqâl* might weigh twenty, or twelve, or ten carats. When it was necessary to determine the weight (of the dirham) for the charity tax, the average of the three values was taken, that is fourteen carats. Thus, the *mithqâl* (of twenty carats) was one dirham and three-sevenths of a dirham (of fourteen carats). It is said that the *baghlî* (dirham) had eight *dânaq*s, the *ṭabarî* (dirham) four, the *maghribî* (dirham) three, and the *yamanî* (dirham) one.[570] 'Umar gave orders to investigate and determine which dirham was most commonly used in transactions. It turned out to be the *baghlî* and the *ṭabarî* (dirhams). Together they weighed twelve *dânaq*s. Thus, the (weight of the) dirham was (fixed at) six *dânaq*s. When three-sevenths of that weight was added, it was a *mithqâl*, and when three-tenths of a *mithqâl* were taken away, it was a dirham.

II, 50 When 'Abd-al-Malik saw fit to use the mint to protect against fraud the two coins (the gold dinar and the silver dirham) that were current in Muslim transactions, he determined their values as what they had been in the time of 'Umar. He used the iron stamp, but engraved words on it, rather than pictures, because eloquent words were obviously

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[569] This information is not quite accurate, nor is it completely clear.

[570] With the exception of the name *baghlî*, which Muslim sources derive from the name of a legendary Jew, Baghl or Ra's al-Baghl ("Mule Head"), the dirhams are named after the areas where they were in use.

more congenial to the Arabs. Moreover, the religious law forbids pictures.

After ('Abd-al-Malik), the coinage remained the same for the whole Muslim period. Both the dinar and the dirham were round. The inscription on them was written in concentric circles. On one side, the legend included the names of God with the formulas: "There is no God but God" and "Praised be God," and the prayer for the Prophet and his family; on the other side, it included the date and the name of the caliph. (Coins were of) this type during the period of the 'Abbâsids, the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids), and the (Spanish) Umayyads. The Ṣinhâjah had no mint except at the end of their rule when al-Manṣûr, the master of Bougie, used one. This has been mentioned by Ibn Ḥammâd in his *History*.[571]

For the Almohads, al-Mahdî set the precedent of coining square dirhams and engraving a square on the round dinar.[572] He covered one side of the coins with the formulas: "There is no God but God" and "Praised be God," and the other with a legend of several lines containing his name, (which was replaced by) his successors with their names. This became the practice of the Almohads. Their coinage has kept that shape down to this time. It has been reported that before al-Mahdî came forth, he was described as "master of the square dirham" by the practitioners of magic who predicted the coming of his dynasty. II, *51*

The present-day inhabitants of the East have no coinage of fixed value. For their transactions, they use dinars and dirhams by weight, and their value is determined through standard weights corresponding to so-and-so many (dirhams, or dinars). The mint engraves[573] on them the formula "There is no God but God" and the prayer for the Prophet,

[571] According to *'Ibar*, VI, 177; de Slane (tr.), II, 57, a reform of the coinage was undertaken by the last Ḥammâdid, Yaḥyâ [1122–52, d. 1163], grandson of al-Manṣûr [1088/89–1104/5], resident at Bougie from 1090/91.

Muḥammad b. 'Alî Ibn Ḥammâd wrote around 617 [1220]. Cf. *GAL Suppl.*, I, 555.

[572] Cf., in particular, A. Bel, "Contribution à l'étude des dirhams de l'époque Almohade," *Hespéris*, XVI (1933), 1 ff.

[573] Bulaq: "does not engrave."

as well as the ruler's name, as is also the practice of the Maghribîs.

"This is the decision of the Mighty, the Knowing One." [574]

Note: [575] We shall conclude our discussion of the mint by explaining the meaning of "the legal dirham" and "the legal dinar" and their value.

The dirham and the dinar differ in value and weight in different regions, cities, and provinces. The religious law has had occasion to refer to these (coins) and has mentioned them in connection with many laws concerning the charity tax, marriage (fees), fixed legal fines, and other things. Therefore, the religious law must have its own (dirham and dinar) with a specific value given to them by (the religious law itself) and agreeing with the intention of (the religious law). These coins are then the ones to which the laws refer. They are different from the non-legal (coins).

It should be known that since the beginning of Islam and the time of the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation, the legal dirham is by general consensus the one, ten of which are equal to seven *mithqâl* of gold, and an ounce of gold is forty dirhams. Thus, the legal dirham is seven-tenths of a dinar. A gold *mithqâl* weighs seventy-two average-sized grains of wheat. Consequently, the dirham, which is seven-tenths of a *mithqâl*, has a weight of fifty and two-fifths grains. All these values are accepted by general consensus. The pre-Islamic dirham was of several kinds. The best was the *ṭabarî*, a dirham of eight *dânaq*s, and the *baghlî*, a dirham of four *dânaq*s.[576] For the legal dirham, they took the mean, that is, six *dânaq*s. The charity tax on one hundred
II, 52 *baghlî* dirhams or one hundred *ṭabarî* dirhams was fixed at five such "mean" dirhams.

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[574] Qur'ân 6.96 (96); 36.38 (38); 41.12 (11).

[575] The text of the additional note is found in C on an inserted sheet.

[576] Cf. p. 56, above.

People do not agree, however, that (the value of legal dirhams) was established (only) by 'Abd-al-Malik and by general consensus later on, as we have reported and as was mentioned by al-Khaṭṭâbî [577] in the *Kitâb Ma'âlim as-sunan* and by al-Mâwardî in the *Kitâb al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*.[578] Thorough scholars of recent times do not think so, because it would imply that legal dirhams and dinars were not known in the time of the man around Muḥammad and subsequently, even though legal tariffs such as the charity tax, marriage (fees), fixed legal fines, and other such things are based on them, as we have (just) mentioned. The truth is that the value of (legal dirhams and dinars) was known at the (earliest) times (of Islam) for the implementation of laws involving tariffs based on (legal dirhams and dinars), but their value was not individually specified outside. It was an internal custom of the Muslims, which had become accepted under the influence of the religious law, and which used a fixed value and weight for (dirhams and dinars).

The Muslim dynasty thereafter became great and flourishing. Conditions called for individual specification of the value and the weight of dirhams and dinars, in accordance with the religious law, in order to obviate the (constant) obligation to determine their value. This (situation) developed in the days of 'Abd-al-Malik. He specified the individual value of (the dinar and the dirham) outside (in real money), as it had been in theory.[579] On the coins, he engraved his name and date after the two confessions of faith: ("I confess there is no God but God" and "I confess that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God"). 'Abd-al-Malik withdrew the pre-Islamic coins altogether. They were eventually purified (melted

[577] Ḥamd (Aḥmad) b. Muḥammad, 319 [931] to 386 or 388 [996 or 998]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 161, 165; *Suppl.*, I, 267, 275. His *Ma'âlim* is a commentary on the *Sunan* of Abû Dâwûd.

[578] *Loc. cit.*, p. 54 (n. 563), above.

[579] All this means simply that according to the opinion here expressed, the currency mentioned in the law was not originally represented by actual coins.

down) and (re-)engraved with a legend, so that (in their original form) they became non-existent. This is the inescapable truth.

Later on, officials of the mint in the various dynasties deliberately disregarded the legal value of dinar and dirham. Their value became different in the different regions. The
II, 53 people reverted to a theoretical knowledge of (the legal dinar and dirham), as had been the case at the beginning of Islam. The inhabitants of every region calculated the legal tariffs in their own coinage, according to the relationship that they knew existed between the (actual) value of (dirhams and dinars in their coinage) and the legal value.

The weight (in gold) of the dinar is seventy-two average-sized grains of wheat. This is reported by thorough scholars and is the general consensus from which only Ibn Ḥazm deviates. Ibn Ḥazm thought that the weight of the dinar is eighty-four grains. This was reported as Ibn Ḥazm's opinion by Judge 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq.[580] Thorough scholars have refuted (Ibn Ḥazm's opinion). They considered it an unfounded assumption or an error, and rightly so. "God causes the truth to come true in His words." [581]

It is also known that the legal ounce is not the one which is commonly used among the people, because the commonly used (ounce) differs according to the various regions, while the legal ounce is a theoretical unit which admits of no differences.

God "created everything. Then, He determined it." [582]

The seal [583]

(Use of) the seal is one of the government functions and a royal office. The sealing of letters and diplomas was known

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[580] Apparently, 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân al-Ishbîlî, 510–581 [1116–1185]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 371; *Suppl.*, I, 634.

[581] Qur'ân 8.7 (7); 10.82 (82); 42.24 (23).

[582] Qur'ân 25.2 (2).

[583] The original text in C was much shorter. It has been crossed out, and the full text is found on an inserted sheet that also includes the remarks on the *ṭirâz*.

to rulers before and after Islam. It has been established in the two *Ṣaḥîḥs* that when the Prophet wanted to write to the Byzantine Emperor, he was told that the non-Arabs accepted only sealed letters. Thus, he took a silver seal (ring) and had the following legend engraved upon it: "Muḥammad, the Messenger of God." Al-Bukhârî said that he had the three words [584] written in three lines and that he used that ring for sealing. (Muḥammad) said: "No one else should use a similar legend." He continued: "Abû Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmân used that ring for sealing. Then, it fell from 'Uthmân's hand into the well of Arîs. There was much [585] water in it, and its bottom could never be reached later on. 'Uthmân was worried about the happening and considered it a (bad) omen. He had another ring made like it." [586] II, *54*

The way of engraving the seal, as well as its use for sealing, have different aspects. This is because the word "seal" is used for the instrument that is placed on the finger. From it, (the verbal form) *takhattama* "He puts the seal on" is derived. (Or, the word) is used to designate "end" or "completion." In this meaning, one says *khatamtu al-amra* "I reached the end of the matter," or *khatamtu al-Qur'âna* "I finished reading the Qur'ân"; also *khâtam an-nabîyîn* "the last of the prophets," [587] and *khâtimat al-amr* "the end of the matter." The word is also used for the stopper with which bottles or barrels are closed. In this sense, one uses (the form) *khitâm*. Thus it is said in the Qur'ân: *wa-khitâmuhû miskun* "its stopper is musk." [588] Those who interpret the word here to mean "end" or "completion" are wrong. (Their interpretation is based on the assumption) that the last im-

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[584] I.e., *Muḥammad rasûl Allâh*.

[585] The original story had "little," and Bulaq has this in its text.

[586] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. Krehl (Leiden, 1862–1908), IV, 90, 92 f.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ* (Calcutta, 1265/1849), II, 328 f.; *Handbook*, p. 212*a*. The last two or three sentences are, I believe, found neither in al-Bukhârî nor in Muslim, but occur in a similar form in, for instance, aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 2856.

[587] Qur'ân 33.40 (40). Cf. J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1927), pp. 53 f.

[588] Qur'ân 83.26 (26), referring to the wine of Paradise.

pression they have of their drink is the smell of musk. However, this is not the intended meaning. It is derived here from *khitâm* in the meaning of "stopper." A stopper of clay or pitch is put upon the wine in the barrel. This preserves (the wine) and gives it a good smell and taste. In an exaggerated manner, the wine of paradise was thus described (in the Qur'ân) as being closed with a stopper of musk, which is better smelling and tasting than clay or pitch, which are customarily used (for the purpose) in this world.

If (the word) "seal" is correctly used in all these meanings, it is (also) correctly used for designating the result that comes from (the application of sealing in all these meanings). This is as follows: When words or shapes are engraved upon (a seal) and it is then put into a paste of clay or an ink solution and placed upon a paper surface, those words (or shapes) will be reproduced on that surface. The same is the case if (the seal) is impressed on some soft material such as wax. The engraved legend remains impressed on it. If the legend consists of words, they are to be read from the left, if the engraving started correctly from the right, and from the
II, 55 right if the engraving started from the left, because the process of sealing reverses the direction of the writing on the (paper) surface and appears on it as the opposite of what it had been on the engraving, with right and left transposed. It is (also) possible to use the seal by putting it in ink and clay and placing it upon the (paper) surface. The words then appear engraved on it. This (process of sealing) expresses the idea of "end" or "completion," in the sense that a writing thus (sealed) is correct and valid. A particular letter somehow becomes effective through the use of such a signature (*'alâmah*).[589] Without it, it would be invalid and imperfect. The sealing may (also) be (effected) through something written by hand at the end or the beginning of a letter, some well-chosen words of praise and glory (the formulas "Praised be God" and "Glory to God"), or the name of the ruler or amir, or of the writer of the letter, whoever he may have

[589] Cf. I:xli, and p. 26, above.

been, or through terms descriptive of the writer. Such (formulas) written by hand indicate the correctness and validity of the letter. They are commonly known under the name of "signature" (*'alâmah*), but are also called "seal" because they are compared to the impression of the seal ring.

The "seal" the judge sends to litigants is connected with this usage. That "seal" is his signature and hand, validating his decisions. The "seal" of the ruler or caliph, that is, his signature, is also connected with the usage referred to. When ar-Rashîd wanted to make Ja'far wazir in the place of his brother al-Faḍl, he said to their father Yaḥyâ b. Khâlid: "Father, I want to change my 'seal' from my right hand to my left hand." He thus used the word "seal" for the wazirate, since it was one of the duties of the wazir in ('Abbâsid) times to put his signature on letters and diplomas. The correctness of the use (of "seal") in this meaning is confirmed by aṭ-Ṭabarî's report on Mu'âwiyah's negotiations with al-Ḥasan. When Mu'âwiyah wanted to persuade al-Ḥasan to enter into an armistice, he sent him a blank sheet of paper, which he II, *56* "sealed" at the bottom, and he wrote to him: "(Write down) on this sheet of paper, which I have sealed at the bottom, whatever conditions you want to make. They are granted." [590] "Sealing" here means a handwritten or other signature at the end of a sheet of paper.

It is also possible to impress a seal upon some soft substance, so that the letters of the legend appear on that substance, and to place the substance (with the seal impression) on the knots of the strings with) which letters are tied,[590a] and upon places for deposits (such as storehouses, strong boxes, etc.). This (use of the root *khtm*) is derived from the meaning of "stopper" mentioned before. In both cases, (we are dealing with) the result of (the application of) the seal, and, therefore, (the word) "seal" can be used in this sense.

The first to introduce the sealing of letters, that is, the

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[590] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, II, 5 f.

[590a] But cf. the description of the various procedures by which letters may be sealed, below. Any one of them may be meant here.

use of the signature, was Mu'âwiyah. He ordered 'Amr b. az-Zubayr to be given 100,000 (dirhams) by Ziyâd (b. Abîhi) in al-Kûfah. The letter (containing the order) was opened, and the figure was changed from 100,000 to 200,000. When Ziyâd presented his account (and the excess payment was noticed), Mu'âwiyah disavowed it. He held 'Amr responsible for the money and kept him in prison until ('Amr's) brother 'Abdallâh paid (the sum) for him. On that occasion, Mu'âwiyah introduced the ministry (*dîwân*) of the seal. This was mentioned by aṭ-Ṭabarî [591] who finished his statement by saying that "he tied the letters with strings. Formerly, they had not been tied." It means, he closed them.

The ministry (*dîwân*) of the seal is composed of the secretaries who see to it that the letters of the ruler are expedited and sealed, either by means of a signature, or by tying them. The word *dîwân* is used for the place where these secretaries had their office, as we mentioned in connection with the ministry (*dîwân*) of taxation.[592]

Letters are tied either by piercing the paper and tacking (the letter) together (with a string), as is the custom of the secretaries of the Maghrib, or by gluing the top of the sheet to the part of the letter over which the top is folded, as is the custom of the people in the East. Over the place where the letter is pierced and tacked, or where it is glued, a signature is placed. It guarantees that the letter has not been opened
II, 57 and that its contents have not been read. The people of the Maghrib place a piece of wax where the letter is pierced and tacked, and seal it with a seal upon which some signature is engraved for use in sealing, and the engraving is impressed upon the wax. In the old dynasties of the East, the place where the letter was glued was also sealed with an engraved seal that was put into a red paste of clay prepared for that (purpose). The engraving of the seal was impressed upon the clay. Under the 'Abbâsid dynasty, this clay was called "seal-

[591] *Op. cit.*, II, 206. It was 'Amr himself who changed the figures in the draft.

[592] Cf. p. 20, above.

ing clay." It was imported from Sîrâf.[593] It seems that this clay was restricted to the purpose of sealing.

(The use of) the seal, which is the (hand)written signature or engraving used for closing and tying letters, was peculiar to the ministry of correspondence (*dîwân ar-rasâ'il*). In the 'Abbâsid dynasty, it belonged to the wazir. Later on, custom differed. It went to those who were in charge of (official) correspondence and the office of the secretaries in the (various) dynasties. In the dynasties of the Maghrib, people came to consider the seal ring as one of the royal marks and emblems. They made artistic seal rings of gold inlaid with gems of hyacinth (ruby), turquoise, and emerald. The ruler according to their custom wore the seal ring as an insignia, exactly as the Prophet's cloak and stick [594] were used in the 'Abbâsid dynasty and an umbrella in the 'Ubaydid (-Fâṭimid) dynasty.

God governs all affairs in His wisdom.

The ṭirâz [595]

It is part of royal and governmental pomp and dynastic custom to have the names of rulers or their peculiar marks embroidered on the silk, brocade, or pure silk garments that are prepared for their wearing. The writing is brought out by weaving a gold thread or some other colored thread of a color different from that of the fabric itself into it. (Its execution) II, *58*
depends upon the skill of the weavers in designing and weaving it. Royal garments are embroidered with such a *ṭirâz*, in order to increase the prestige of the ruler or the person of lower rank who wears such a garment, or in order to increase the prestige of those whom the ruler distinguishes by bestowing upon them his own garment when he wants to honor

[593] Sealing clay constituted part of the tax income of southern Mesopotamia. Cf. 1:362, above.

[594] Cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 130.

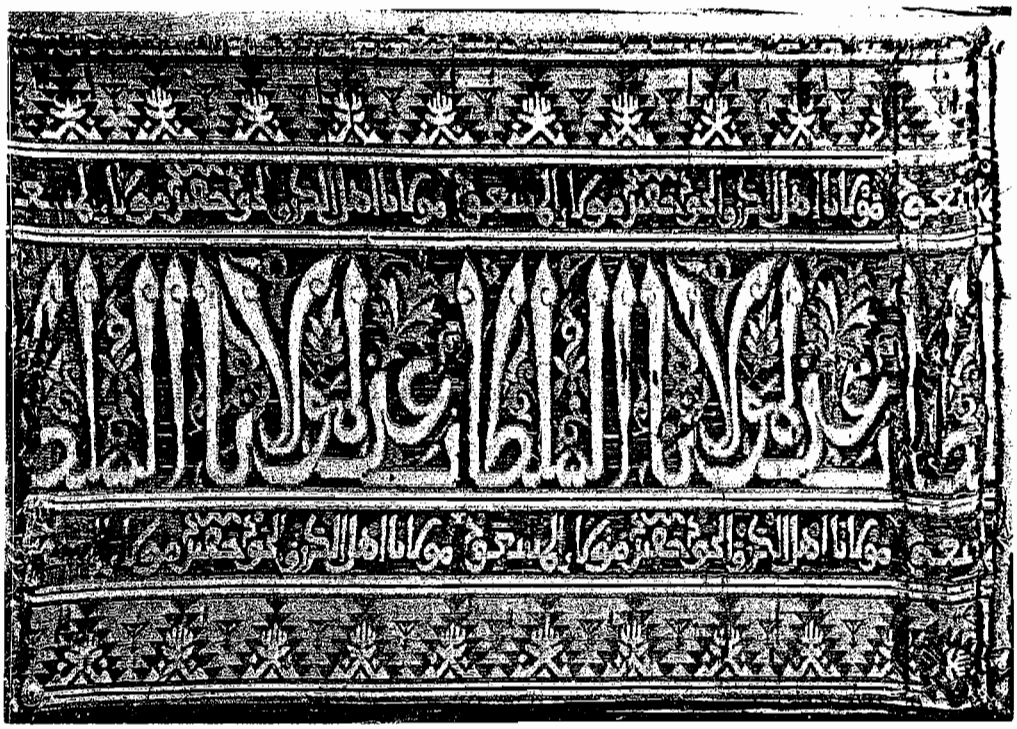
[595] Numerous specimens of *ṭirâz* have been preserved and extensively studied by modern scholars. Cf. A. Grohmann in *EI* and *EI Supplement*, *s.v.* "Ṭirâz."

Some kind of *ṭirâz* manufacture has continued to the present day in the Yemen. Cf. R. B. Serjeant in *Ars Islamica*, XIII–XIV (1948), 81 f.

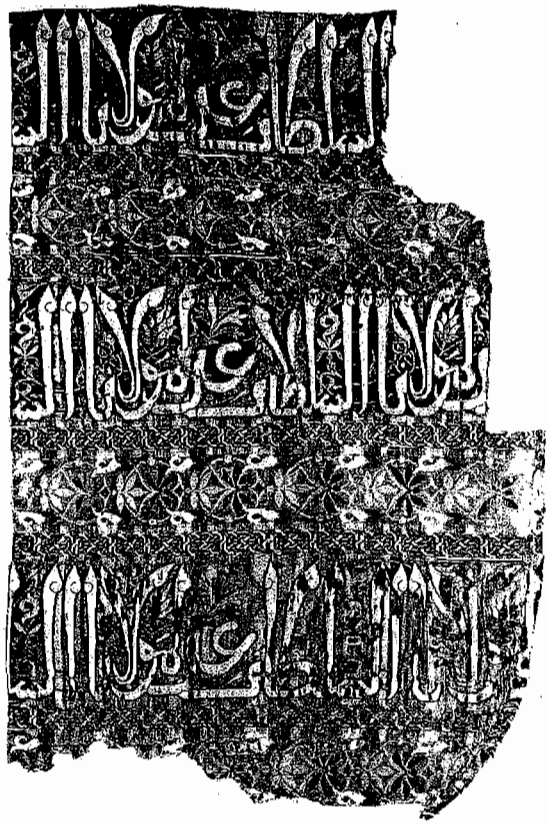
them or appoint them to one of the offices of the dynasty.

The pre-Islamic non-Arab rulers used to make a *ṭirâz* of pictures and figures of kings, or (other) figures and pictures specifically (designed) for it. The Muslim rulers later on changed that and had their own names embroidered together with other words of good omen or prayer. In the Umayyad and 'Abbâsid dynasties, the *ṭirâz* was one of the most splendid things and honors. The houses within the palaces in which such garments were woven were called "*ṭirâz* houses." The person who supervised them was called "*ṭirâz* master." He was in charge of the craftsmen, the implements, and the weavers in (the *ṭirâz* houses), the payment of their wages, the care of their implements, and the control of their work. (The office of *ṭirâz* master) was entrusted by the 'Abbâsids to their intimates and their most trusted clients. The same was the case with the Umayyads in Spain and their successors, the *reyes de taïfas*, as well as with the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids) in Egypt and the eastern non-Arab rulers contemporary with them. When luxury and cultural diversity receded with the receding power of the (great) dynasties, and when the number of (small) dynasties grew, the office and its administration completely ceased to exist in most dynasties. When, at the beginning of the sixth [twelfth] century, the Almohads
II, 59 succeeded the Umayyads, they did not have the *ṭirâz* at the beginning of their dynasty, because they had been taught by their imam Muḥammad b. Tûmart al-Mahdî the ways of religion and simplicity. They were too austere to wear garments of silk and gold. The office (of the *ṭirâz*), therefore, had no place in their dynasty. Their descendants in the later (years) of the dynasty, however, re-established it in part, but it was not nearly as splendid (as before).

At the present time, we have personally seen quite a lot of (*ṭirâz* manufacture) in the flourishing and proud Merinid dynasty in the Maghrib. The Merinids had learned it from the contempory dynasty of the Ibn al-Aḥmar (Naṣrids) in Spain. They (in turn) followed the *ṭirâz* customs of the *reyes*



a



b

II. *Ṭirâz*

a. Probably from Northwestern Africa

b. Hispano-Moresque (Granada?), 15th century

de taïfas and achieved in this respect something that speaks for itself.

In the contemporary Turkish dynasty of Egypt and Syria, the *ṭirâz* is very much cultivated in accordance with the importance of the realm (of that dynasty) and the civilization of its country. However, the *ṭirâz* is not produced within the houses and palaces of the dynasty, and it is not an office of the dynasty. (The *ṭirâz*) which is required by the dynasty is woven by craftsmen familiar with the craft, from silk and pure gold. They call it *zarkash*, a Persian word. The name of the ruler or amir is embroidered on it. It is made by craftsmen for the dynasty, together with other fine products, such as are fitting for (the dynasty) and are produced for it.

God determines night and day. He is the best heir.[596]

Large tents and tent walls

It should be known that one of the emblems of royal authority and luxury is small and large tents and canopies of linen, wool, and cotton, with linen and cotton ropes. They are used for display on journeys. They are of different kinds, large or small, according to the wealth and affluence of the dynasty. At the beginning of the dynasty, the same type of housing used by the people of the dynasty before they have achieved royal authority, continues to be used. At the time of the first Umayyad caliphs, the Arabs continued to use the dwellings they had, tents of leather and wool. Only a very few of the Arabs had at that date ceased to live in the Bedouin manner. When they went on raids or went to war, they traveled with all their camels, their nomad households (*ḥilal*), and their dependent women and children, as is still the case with the Arabs at this time. Their armies, therefore, consisted of many nomad households, and the distance between the encampments was great. The groups were widely separated, and each group was too far away to see the other, as is still the case with the Arabs. II, 60

[596] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20) and 21.89 (89).

That was why 'Abd-al-Malik used to need "drivers" (*sâqah* "rear guard") to keep the people together and make them follow him, in the event they did not move after he had started to move. It is reported that 'Abd-al-Malik employed al-Ḥajjâj for that purpose upon Rawḥ b. Zinbâ"s [597] recommendation. The story of how al-Ḥajjâj, as soon as he was appointed to that office, had the large and ordinary tents of Rawḥ burned when he discovered they were not on the move the day 'Abd-al-Malik had begun to move, is well known. The fact that al-Ḥajjâj was entrusted with the office shows what rank he held among the Arabs.[598] The task of getting them to move was entrusted only to a person in no danger of being attacked by stupid Arab groups, one who possessed a group feeling sufficient to forestall such attacks. Therefore, 'Abd-al-Malik singled out al-Ḥajjâj for the rank, because he was confident that al-Ḥajjâj possessed enough group feeling and energy for it.

The Arab dynasty then adopted diverse ways of sedentary culture and ostentation. People settled in towns and cities.
II, *61* They were transformed from tent dwellers into palace dwellers. They exchanged the camel for the horse and the donkey as riding animals. Now, they used linen fabrics for their dwellings on their journeys, fashioning them into houses (tents) of various shapes and sizes, round,[599] oblong, or square. In this connection, they displayed the greatest possible pomp and art.

Amirs and army leaders surrounded their large tents and canopies with a tent wall of linen. In the language of the Berbers of the Maghrib, the tent wall is called *afrâg*.[600] It is restricted to the ruler there. No one else has it. In the East,

[597] Rawḥ, described by the historians as one of the principal advisers to 'Abd-al-Malik, is said to have died in 84 [703]. Cf. adh-Dhahabî, *Ta'rîkh al-Islâm*, III, 248. For the story cf. also pp. 76 f., below.

[598] Cf. 1:58 ff., above.

[599] Lit., "tents that cover a circular piece of ground when pitched."

[600] Cf., for instance, E. Ibañez, *Diccionario español-rifeño* (Madrid, 1944), p. 407*a*, and *idem*, *Diccionario rifeño-español* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 13*a* (*aferag*), 14*a*. Cf. also E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1922), p. 22, where the word occurs as a "dry hedge of jujubes."

it is used by every amir, whether he is the ruler or not.

(The habits of) luxurious living then caused women and children to stay behind in their palaces and mansions. People, therefore, traveled light. The spaces between the encampments of the army became less far apart. Army and ruler encamped in one and the same camp, which was completely within the field of vision (of a single observer). It was a pretty sight because of the various colors. This remained the way dynasties displayed their luxury.

It has also been this way in the Almohad and Zanâtah dynasties whose shadow extends over us. At the beginning of their power, when they traveled they used the ordinary sleeping tents they had used before they achieved royal authority. However, eventually, the dynasty adopted the ways of luxury, and people began to dwell in palaces. Then, they turned to using tents both large and small to a greater extent than they had intended (when they started using them).

It is a great luxury. However, armies become more vulnerable to night attacks when they are assembled in one place, where a sudden attack may involve them all. Furthermore, II, *62*
they do not have their families and children with them, and it is for their families and children they would be willing to die. Therefore, other protective measures are needed in this connection, as we shall mention.[601]

God "is strong and mighty."[602]

The prayer enclosure (maqṣûrah) *and the prayer during the* (*Friday*) *sermon*

These two things are caliphal prerogatives and royal emblems in Islam. They are not known in non-Muslim dynasties.

The enclosure for the ruler to pray in is a latticed screen around the prayer niche (*miḥrâb*), and the space immediately adjacent. The first to use one was Mu'âwiyah b. Abî Sufyân, after a Khârijite had stabbed him. The story is well known.

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[601] Cf. pp. 78 ff., below.

[602] Qur'ân 11.66 (69); 42.19 (18).

It is also said that the first to use one was Marwân b. al-Ḥakam, after a Yemenite had stabbed him.[603] Afterwards, all the caliphs used it. It became a custom distinguishing the ruler from the rest of the people during prayer. It arises only when dynasties are luxurious and flourishing, as is the case with all pomp.

It remained this way in all Muslim dynasties when the 'Abbâsid dynasty dissolved and the number of different dynasties in the East grew. It also remained so in Spain when the Umayyad dynasty was destroyed and the *reyes de taïfas* became numerous. As for the Maghrib, the Aghlabids used it in al-Qayrawân. It was used later on by the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimid) caliphs and by their Ṣinhâjah governors of the Maghrib, by the Banû Bâdîs in al-Qayrawân and by the Banû Ḥammâd in al-Qal'ah.[604] When the Almohads then took possession of all the Maghrib and Spain, they abolished the institution of
II, 63 (the prayer enclosure) in accordance with the desert attitude that characterized them. But then the dynasty flourished and acquired its share of luxury. When the third Almohad ruler, Ya'qûb al-Manṣûr, appeared, he used a prayer enclosure. Afterwards, its use remained a custom of the rulers of the Maghrib and of Spain. The same was the case with all other dynasties. This is how God proceeds with His servants.

As to the prayer from the pulpit (*minbar*) during the (Friday) sermon, it should be said that the caliphs at first directed the prayers themselves. Therefore, they used to say a prayer (for themselves), after the obligatory prayer for the Prophet and the blessings for the men around him had been spoken.

[603] Cf. the references given by J. Pedersen in *EI*, *s.v.* "Masdjid" (Sec. D, pt. 2, *b*). The Yemenite attacked Marwân when he was governor of Medina, in 44 [664/65]. The Khârijite attack upon Mu'âwiyah presumably refers to the three-pronged conspiracy against 'Alî, 'Amr b. al-'Âṣ, and Mu'âwiyah in the year 40 [661], which was successful only against 'Alî. Of course, all this is rather legendary, and the sources do not agree on the date of the introduction of the *maqṣûrah*.

[604] Cf. n. 6 to this chapter, above.

The first to use a pulpit was 'Amr b. al-'Âṣ when he built his mosque in Egypt. 'Umar (b. al-Khaṭṭâb) wrote to him: "And now: I have heard that you use a pulpit and thus raise yourself above the necks of the Muslims. Is it not sufficient for you that you are standing while the Muslims are at your heels? Therefore, I urge you to smash it to bits." [605]

When pomp came into being and the caliphs came to be prevented from (personally delivering) the sermon and leading the prayer, they appointed delegates for both (tasks). The preacher mentioned the caliph from the pulpit. He mentioned his name in praise and prayed for him, because God had appointed him in the interest of the world, and because a prayer at such an hour was thought likely to be heard. Also, the ancients had said: "He who has a good prayer shall say it for the ruler."

The first to pray for the caliph during the sermon was Ibn 'Abbâs. As 'Alî's governor in al-Baṣrah, he prayed for 'Alî during his sermon. He said: "O God, help 'Alî, (who represents) the truth." [606] This practice was continued afterwards.[607]

Only the caliph was (mentioned). But when the time came that the caliphs were secluded and under the control of others, the men who were in control of the (various) dynasties often shared the (prayer) with the caliph, and their names were mentioned after his. II, 64

When these dynasties disappeared, (the custom) also disappeared. Only the ruler was privileged to be mentioned in

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[605] Cf. Ibn 'Abd-al-Ḥakam, *Futûḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. C. Torrey (Yale Oriental Series, Researches No. 3) (New Haven, 1922), p. 92, and all the Egyptian historians. Cf. the references given by J. Pedersen in *EI*, *s.v.* "Masdjid" (Sec. D, pt. 2, *d*).

[606] *Al-ḥaqqa* is Ibn Khaldûn's text. Bulaq reads: *'alâ l-ḥaqq* "toward the truth." D has *bi-l-ḥaqq* "with the truth." One may compare a tradition such as the one quoted by al-Ḥâkim, *Mustadrak* (Hyderabad, 1324/1906), III, 124 f.: "O God, let the truth go wherever 'Alî goes."

[607] Bulaq has the preceding paragraph in an earlier place, after the introductory sentence of the story by 'Amr b. al-'Âṣ. According to C, which has both stories in the margin, they would be a later addition to the text.

the prayer from the pulpit, and no one else. No one was permitted to share that privilege with the ruler or to aspire to do so.

The founders of dynasties often neglected this institution when the dynasty still had a low standard of living and preserved the negligent and coarse Bedouin attitude. They were satisfied with a summary, anonymous reference to the one entrusted with the affairs of the Muslims. Such a sermon was called an "'Abbâsid sermon." This meant that the summary prayer could refer only to the 'Abbâsid caliph, following the ancient tradition. They did not think of going beyond that, of clearly indicating the ruler and pronouncing his name.

The story goes that the amir Abû Zakarîyâ' Yaḥyâ b. Abî Ḥafṣ took Tlemcen away from the founder of the 'Abd-al-Wâdid dynasty, Yaghamrâsin b. Zayyân.[608] He then decided upon returning him to power under certain conditions, which he stipulated. Among them was the condition that his (Abû Zakarîyâ''s) name should be mentioned from the pulpits of (Yaghamrâsin's) province. On that occasion, Yaghamrâsin said: "They (the pulpits) are those pieces of wood [609] of theirs from which they mention whomever they like."

Also, the ambassador of al-Mustanṣir, the third [610] Ḥafṣid caliph in Tunis, was at the court of the founder of the Merinid dynasty, Ya'qûb b. 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq. One day, he was late in attending the Friday service. Ya'qûb was informed that the

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[608] For the form of his name, which is further confirmed by the vocalization of the MSS, cf. 1:272 (n. 64), above. For the event, which belongs in the year 1242, cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 287; VII, 79 ff.; de Slane (tr.), II, 317 f.; III, 342 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 31.

[609] This is apparently intended as a derisive designation; however, the Prophet's *minbar* is also called *a'wâd* "pieces of wood."

Instead of "they are," A reads *dh–k–r*, probably to be translated "he refers to." However, the reading of A seems to be a simple mistake.

[610] We should count al-Mustanṣir [1249–1277] as the second Ḥafṣid of Tunis. For the numbering of Ḥafṣids by Ibn Khaldûn, cf. n. 155 to this chapter and p. 17, above, as well as 101, 116, and 222, below. In 2:116, al-Mustanṣir's brother and second successor, Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm, is called the fourth. Ya'qûb ruled from 1258 to 1277. For the historical circumstances, cf. R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, I, 45.

ambassador did not attend the service because the sermon did not include mention of his ruler. Thereupon, Ya'qûb gave permission to pray for him. This was one of the reasons why the Merinids took up the (Ḥafṣid) propaganda. II, *65*

Such was the attitude of dynasties at the beginning, when they still had a low standard of living and preserved the Bedouin outlook. But when their political eyes were opened and they looked toward (all) the aspects of royal authority and perfected the details [611] of sedentary culture and the ideas of ostentation and pomp, they adopted all the external attributes (of royal authority) and exhausted all the possibilities in this respect. They disliked the idea that anyone else might share in them, and they were afraid that they might lose them and that their dynasty would be deprived of the effect of them.

The world is a garden,[612] and God watches over everything.[613]

[35] *Wars and the methods of waging war practiced by the various nations.*

Wars and different kinds of fighting have always occurred in the world since God created it. The origin of war is the desire of certain human beings to take revenge on others. Each (party) is supported by the people sharing in its group feeling. When they have sufficiently excited each other for the purpose and the two parties confront each other, one seeking revenge and the other trying to defend itself, there is war. It is something natural among human beings. No nation and no race (generation) is free from it.

The reason for such revenge is as a rule either jealousy and envy, or hostility, or zeal in behalf of God and His religion, or zeal in behalf of royal authority and the effort to found a kingdom.

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[611] Cf. 1:371, l. 10, above, and 3:374 (n. 1441), below, as one should read, with Bulaq, *shiyât*. *Shî'ah* "will" could hardly be meant here.

[612] Cf. 1:81 f., above.

[613] Cf. Qur'ân 33.52 (52).

The first (kind of war) usually occurs between neighboring tribes and competing families.

The second (kind of war)—war caused by hostility—is usually found among savage nations living in the desert, such as the Arabs, the Turks, the Turkomans, the Kurds, and
II, 66 similar peoples. They earn their sustenance with their lances and their livelihood by depriving other people of their possessions. They declare war against those who defend their property against them. They have no further desire for rank and royal authority. Their minds and eyes are set only upon depriving other people of their possessions.[614]

The third (kind of war) is the one the religious law calls "the holy war."

The fourth (kind of war), finally, is dynastic war against seceders and those who refuse obedience.

These are the four kinds of war.[614a] The first two are unjust and lawless, the other two are holy and just wars.

Since the beginning of men's existence, war has been waged in the world in two ways. One is by advance in closed formation. The other is the technique of attack and withdrawal.

The advance in closed formation has been the technique of all the non-Arabs throughout their entire existence. The technique of attack and withdrawal has been that of the Arabs and of the Berbers of the Maghrib.

Fighting in closed formation is more steady and fierce than fighting with the technique of attack and withdrawal. That is because in fighting in closed formation, the lines are orderly and evenly arranged, like arrows or like rows of worshipers at prayer. People advance in closed lines against the enemy. This makes for greater steadiness in assault and for better use of the proper tactics. It frightens the enemy

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[614] Cf. 1:303 and 306, above.

[614a] One may compare the three reasons for war admitted by the tenth-century philosopher Abû l-Ḥasan al-'Âmirî (cf. F. Rosenthal in *The Islamic Quarterly*, III [1956], 49), and the seven causes of war enumerated in the early fourteenth century by al-'Abbâsî in his *Âthâr al-uwal fî tartîb ad-duwal* (Cairo, 1295/1878), p. 168 (Sec. 4, Ch. VII).

more. A closed formation is like a long wall or a well-built castle which no one could hope to move. In the divine revelation, it is said: "God loves those who fight in His behalf in a line, as if they were a strongly constructed building." [615] That means, they steady each other. A tradition says: "One believer is to another believer like a building of which every part supports the rest." [616]

This makes it obvious what great wisdom there is in requiring that the lines be kept steady and in forbidding anyone to fall back during an attack. Battle lines are intended to pre- II, 67
serve order, as we have stated. Those who turn their backs to the enemy bring disorder into the line formation. They are guilty of the crime of causing a rout. They somehow cause the Muslims to be routed and enable the enemy to gain power over them. This is a great sin, because the resulting damage is general and affects Islam, in that it makes a breach in the protecting fence. Therefore, it is considered one of the great sins.[617] All this evidence shows that fighting in close formation is more important (than any other kind) in the opinion of the Lawgiver (Muḥammad).

Fighting with the technique of attack and withdrawal is not as fierce or as secure against the possibility of rout, as is fighting in closed formation, unless there is set up a steady line formation to the rear, to which the fighting men may fall back in attack and withdrawal throughout the fighting. Such a line formation would take the place of the closed formation, as we shall mention later on.[618]

The ancient dynasties had many soldiers and a vast realm. They subdivided their armies into smaller units.[619] The reason for this was that their soldiers grew exceedingly numerous

[615] Qur'ân 61.4 (4).

[616] Cf. *Concordance*, I, 223*a*, ll. 5 ff.

[617] Cf., for instance, Ibn Abî Zayd, *Risâlah*, ed. L. Bercher (3d ed.; Algiers, 1949), pp. 162 f.: "Fleeing in the face of the enemy is a great sin, be they twice the number of the Muslims or less. If they be more than that, it is not wrong to (flee)."

[618] Cf. p. 77, below.

[619] Bulaq adds: "which they called 'regiments.' Each regiment had its own lines."

and were assembled from the most remote regions. This made it unavoidable that some of the soldiers would not know others, when they mingled on the field of battle and engaged the enemy in shooting and close fighting. It was feared lest, on such occasions, they would fall to fighting each other because of the existing confusion and their ignorance of each other. Therefore, they divided the armies into smaller units and put men who knew each other together. They arranged the units in an arrangement resembling the natural one of the four directions (of the compass). The chief of all the armies, either the ruler himself or a general, was in the center.[620] This arrangement was called "the battle order" (*ta'biyah*). It is mentioned in the history of the Persians, that of the Byzantines, and that of the (Umayyad and 'Abbâsid) dynasties at the beginning of Islam. In front of the ruler stood one army with its own battle lines, it own general and its own
II, 68 flag.[621] It was called "the advance guard." Then, to the right of the [622] place where the ruler was, stood another army. It was called "the right flank." There was another army to the left, called "the left flank." Then, there was another army behind the army, called "the rear guard." The ruler and his entourage stood at the middle of these four (armies). The place where he was, was called the center. When this ingenious arrangement was completed—covering an area within the field of vision (of a single observer) or extending over a wider area but with at most one or two days' (journey) between each of the two armies, and utilizing the possibilities suggested by the greater or smaller number of soldiers—then, when the battle order was thus set up, the advance in closed formation could begin. This may be exemplified by the history of the (Muslim) conquests and the history of the (Umayyad and 'Abbâsid) dynasties. There also is the well-known story mentioned above from the history of 'Abd-al-Malik, of how his armies fell back while he was on the move

[620] Lit., "heart."
[621] Bulaq adds: "and insignia."
[622] Bulaq adds: "and parallel to."

because (the elements of) the battle order were so widely separated, and how someone was needed to drive them from behind and al-Ḥajjâj b. Yûsuf was appointed for that purpose.[623]

Much the same sort of arrangement was also to be found among the Spanish Umayyads. It is not known among us now, because we live in a time when dynasties possess small armies which cannot mistake each other on the field of battle.[624] Most of the soldiers of both parties together could nowadays be assembled in a hamlet or a town. Everyone of them knows his comrade and calls him by his name and surname in the thick of battle. Therefore, this particular battle order can be dispensed with.

One of the techniques of the people who use the technique of attack and withdrawal, is to set up, behind their armies, a line formation (barricade) of solid objects and dumb animals to serve as a refuge for the cavalry during attack and withdrawal. It is intended to steady the fighters, so that they will II, 69
fight more persistently and have a better chance of winning.

Those who fight in closed formation do the same, in order to increase their steadfastness and power. The Persians who fought in closed formation used to employ elephants in their wars. They made them carry wooden towers like castles, loaded with combatants, weapons, and flags. They disposed them in successive lines behind them in the thick of battle, as if they were fortresses. This fortified them psychologically and gave them added confidence.

In this connection, one may compare what happened at al-Qâdisîyah. On the third day, the Persians pressed the Muslims hard with (the elephants).[625] Eventually, some outstanding Arabs counterattacked, infiltrated among the elephants, and struck them on the trunk with their swords. (The

[623] Cf. p. 68, above.

[624] However, according to European historians, the Muslim army that fought before al-Mahdîyah in 1390 comprised between 40,000 and 60,000 men. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 90 f.

[625] *Leg. bihâ* instead of *bihim?*

elephants) fled and turned back to their stables in al-Madâ'in. This paralyzed the Persian camp, and they fled on the fourth day.

The Rûm (Byzantines), the Gothic rulers in Spain, and most other non-Arab peoples used to employ thrones for the purpose of steadying the battle lines. A throne would be set up for the ruler in the thick of battle and surrounded by those of the ruler's servants, entourage, and soldiers who were thought to be willing to die for him. Flags were run up at the corners of the throne. A further wall of sharpshooters and foot soldiers was put around it. The throne thus assumed considerable dimensions. It became, for the fighters, a place to fall back upon and a refuge in attack and withdrawal. This was what the Persians did in the battle of al-Qâdisîyah. Rustum sat upon a throne that had been set up for him there. Finally, the Persian lines became disordered, and the Arabs penetrated to (Rustum's) throne. He abandoned it and went to the Euphrates, where he was killed.

The Arabs and most other Bedouin nations that move about and employ the technique of attack and withdrawal, dispose their camels and the pack animals carrying their
II, 70 litters in lines to steady the fighting men. (Such lines) become for them a place to fall back upon. They call it *al-majbûdah*.[626] Every nation that follows this technique can be observed to be more steady in battle and to be better protected against being surprised and routed. This is a well-attested fact, but it has been altogether neglected by the contemporary dynasties. Instead, they dispose the pack animals carrying their baggage and large tents behind them, as a rear guard. These animals cannot take the place of elephants and camels. Therefore, the armies are exposed to the danger of being routed, and they are always ready to flee in combat.

At the beginning of Islam, all battles were fought in

[626] The origin and use of the term are not clear to me. It seems to be a Northwest African usage. It might be derived from the vulgar root *j–b–dh* (*j–b–d*) "to draw."

closed formation, although the Arabs knew only the technique of attack and withdrawal. Two things at the beginning of Islam caused them to (fight in closed formation). First, their enemies fought in closed formation, and they were thus forced to fight them in the same way. Second, they were willing to die in the holy war, because they wished to prove their endurance and were very firm in their belief. Now, the closed formation is the fighting technique most suitable for one willing to die.

The first to abandon the line in war and to use the battle order by regiments was Marwân b. al-Ḥakam [627] in fighting the Khârijite aḍ-Ḍaḥḥâk and, after him, al-Khaybarî. Aṭ-Ṭabarî said in connection with the killing of al-Khaybarî: "The Khârijites appointed as their leader Shaybân b. 'Abd-al-'Azîz al-Yashkurî, who had the surname of Abû d-Dalfâ'. Marwân, thereafter, fought them in regiments and abandoned the line from that day on."

When the line was discontinued, the practice of fighting in closed formation was forgotten. Then, when luxury penetrated the various dynasties, the use of the (rally) line behind the fighters was forgotten. This was because when they were II, 71
Bedouins and lived in tents, they had many camels, and the women and children lived in camp with them. Then they achieved royal luxury and became used to living in palaces and in a sedentary environment and they abandoned the ways of the desert and waste regions. At that time, they forgot the period of camels and litters, and it was difficult for them to use them. When they traveled, they left their women behind. Royal authority and luxury caused them to use tents both

[627] The caliph in question is not the one mentioned, but his grandson, Marwân II, the last of the Umayyads. Ibn Khaldûn's error may have been caused by the fact that another aḍ-Ḍaḥḥâk fought against Marwân b. al-Ḥakam and fell at Marj Râhiṭ in 64 [684]. Or, it may it have been a psychological slip by Ibn Khaldûn, out of unwillingness to admit that the last Umayyad could still have introduced important innovations. The events referred to in the text took place in 128/29 [745/47], during which year all three of the Khârijites, aḍ-Ḍaḥḥâk b. Qays, al-Khaybarî, and Shaybân, were killed in that order. The source is aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 1941, ll. 14 f., *anno* 128.

large and small. They restricted themselves to pack animals carrying baggage and tents. They used these things to form their (protective) line in war. It was by no means sufficient. These things, unlike one's own family and property, do not inspire any willingness to die.[628] People, therefore, have little endurance. The turmoil of the battle frightens them, and their lines crumble.

We have mentioned the strength that a line formation behind the army gives to the fighters who use the technique of attack and withdrawal. Because of (this fact), the Maghribî rulers have come to employ groups of European Christians in their army, and they are the only ones to have done that, for their compatriots know only the technique of attack and withdrawal. The position of the ruler is strengthened by establishing a line formation in support of the fighting men ahead of it. The men in such a line formation must be people who are used to hold firm in closed formation. If not, they will run away like the men who use the technique of attack and withdrawal, and, when they run away, the ruler and the army will be routed. Therefore, the rulers of the Maghrib had to use soldiers from a nation used to hold firm in closed formation. That nation was the European Christians. The line formation around their (army) is formed by European Christians. The Maghribî rulers do that despite the fact that
II, 72 it means utilizing the aid of unbelievers. They do not think much of it, because the necessity (of using such men) exists, as we have shown. They fear that their own line formation might run away, and (they know that) the European Christians know only how to hold firm, because it is their custom to fight in closed formation. They are, therefore, more suitable for the purpose than others. However, the Maghribî rulers employ (such European Christians) only in wars against Arab and Berber nations, in order to force them into submission. They do not use them for the holy war, because they are afraid that they might take sides against the Mus-

[628] Cf. p. 69, above.

lims. Such is the situation in the Maghrib at this time. We have shown the reason for it. "God knows everything." [629]

We hear that the fighting (technique) of the contemporary Turkish nations is the shooting of arrows. Their battle order consists of a line formation. They divide their army into three lines, one placed behind the other. They dismount from their horses, empty their quivers on the ground in front of them, and then shoot from a sitting position. Each line protects the one ahead of it against being overrun by the enemy, until victory is assured for one party. This is a very good and remarkable battle order.

In war, the ancients followed the method of digging trenches around their camps when they were about to attack. (They did that) because they were afraid of treacherous night attacks and assaults by night upon the camp, since darkness and wildness multiply fear. Under such conditions, the soldiers might seek refuge in flight and would find in the darkness a psychological protection against the shame of (fleeing). If all the soldiers were to have the same (idea), the camp would be disorganized, and there would be a rout. II, 73
Therefore, they were accustomed to dig trenches around the camp, when they encamped. They set up their tents and made trenches all around them on every side, lest the enemy be able to get through them in a night attack, in which case they would abandon each other.

The dynasties used to have the strength and power to do such things involving large concentrations of manpower, wherever they settled, because civilization was prosperous and royal authority impressive. But when civilization was ruined and (the strong dynasties) were succeeded by weak dynasties with few soldiers and no workers, the thing was altogether forgotten, as if it had never been.

God is the best of those who have power.

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[629] Qur'ân 2.29 (27), 231 (231), etc.

One should think of the admonitions and encouragement that 'Alî gave his men on the day of Ṣiffîn. One will find in them a good deal of military knowledge. No one had better insight into military matters than 'Alî. He said in one of his speeches: "Straighten out your lines like a strongly constructed building.[630]

"Place the armed men in front, and those who are not armed in the rear.

"Bite on your molars. This makes it harder for sword blows to harm the head.

"Keep (something) wrapped around [?] the tips of the spears. This preserves the sharpness of points.

"Keep the eyes down. This keeps the soul more concentrated and gives greater peace to the heart.

"Kill (all) noises. This drives vacillation away more effectively and is more becoming to dignity.

"Do not hold your flags inclined and do not remove them. Place them in the hands only of those among you who are brave.

"Call upon truth and endurance for aid, for 'after endurance there is victory.' "

Al-Ashtar [631] on that day, to encourage the Azd, said: "Bite on your molars and meet the people (enemy) head on. Be violent like men who, long frustrated from their revenge, are now out to revenge their fathers and their brothers, who
II, 74 are full of wrath against the enemy, and who have prepared themselves for death, so that they shall not be prevented from taking revenge and not be disgraced in this world."

Abû Bakr aṣ-Ṣayrafî, the poet of the Lamtûnah (Almoravids) and the Spaniards, has referred to many such things in a poem in which he praises Tâshfîn b. 'Alî b. Yûsuf and

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[630] Cf. Qur'ân 61.4 (4). 'Alî's words are found in aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 3290 f., and in Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil*, III, 150. A comparison of Ibn Khaldûn's text with aṭ-Ṭabarî and Ibn al-Athîr shows that Ibn Khaldûn used Ibn al-Athîr.

[631] 'Alî's well-known general who died soon after the battle of Ṣiffîn, in 37 [657/58]. His names are said to have been Mâlik b. al-Ḥârith. His remarks were derived by Ibn Khaldûn from aṭ-Ṭabarî, I, 3298.

describes his steadfastness during a battle in which he participated.[632] He refers to his military affairs in words of admonition and warning that make a great deal of knowledge concerning warfare available to (the reader). He says in (the poem):

O you veiled [633] people!
Who among you is the high-minded, inspiring ruler?
Who is the one whom the enemy surprised in the dark,
And everyone dispersed, but he was not discouraged?
And the knights came, but fighting with spears kept them
From him. The loyalty (of his troops) confounded them, and they turned back.
And the gleam of helmets made the night appear
Like the morn sparkling over the heads of the soldiers.
Where [634] have you taken refuge (now), O Banû Ṣinhâjah?
You (who) were the refuge in fear.
You have turned away from Tâshfîn.
If he wished, he could punish you.
A pupil that no eyelid of yours has ever protected,
And a heart that the ribs have betrayed.
You are nothing but lions of the thicket,[635]
Each one (of you) watching for every (possible) unpleasantness (that might befall).
O Tâshfîn, make the night an excuse for your soldiers,
And irresistible destiny not to be repelled.

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[632] The military operations of Tâshfîn, who was later on ruler of the Almoravid realm for three years, are described in *'Ibar*, VI, 229 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 174 ff., starting with the year 533 [1138/39]. For aṣ-Ṣayrafî, about whom little seems to be known, cf. S. M. Stern, *Les chansons mozarabes* (Palermo, 1953), p. 57.

[633] I.e., the veiled Ṣinhâjah Almoravids.

[634] The situation is changed now, for in the battle the poem is about, Tâshfîn was not supported as vigorously as before by his Ṣinhâjah Almoravid troops.

[635] "Lions of the thicket" is used for people who are courageous and feared in their own habitat, but despised outside it. Cf. ath-Tha'âlibî, *Thimâr al-qulûb* (Cairo, 1326/1908), p. 306.

The following verses of the poem are about warfare:

I shall give you the political education that
The Persian kings before you were desirous to obtain.
Not that I am experienced in it, but it is
A memento that spurs on the believers, and is useful.
Put on the double coat of mail that
A Tubba' exhorted skillful craftsmen to make,[636]
And the fine Indian dagger, because it is
More effective against thick armor and pierces it better.
Use a number of fast horses (and horsemen) —
A strong fortress that cannot be repelled!
Dig a trench for yourself when you encamp,
Regardless of whether you are in victorious pursuit or being pursued.
Do not cross a river. Encamp on its bank.
It separates your soldiers from the enemy.
II, 75 Go into battle in the afternoon,
Having behind you a mountain pass[637] that is unapproachable.
When the soldiers are in straits on a narrow
Battlefield, the points of their spears will give them (elbow) room.
Attack the enemy right away, do not hesitate
A moment, for to show signs of hesitation is disastrous.
Take for your patrols men of energy,
In whom truthfulness is an unmistakable characteristic.
Do not listen to the liar who comes to you with alarming news.
A person under the influence of a lie (acts) senselessly,[638] whatever he may do.

The statement, "Attack the enemy right away, do not hesitate, etc," is contrary to the general practice of warfare.

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[636] For the Tubba' as the legendary producer of strong armor, cf. J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 102.

[637] *Aṣ-ṣadaf*, as in the MSS.

[638] This is quoted as a proverb in *Lisân al-'Arab*, II, 199.

'Umar said to Abû 'Ubayd b. Mas'ûd ath-Thaqafî, when he entrusted him with the war against Fârs and the 'Irâq: [639] "Listen to the men around Muḥammad and let them participate in the command. Do not answer hastily, (answer) only when everything is clear to you. It is war, and only the calm man, who knows when there is an opportunity and when he has to restrain himself, is suited for warfare."

According to another (report), he said to him: "The only thing that prevents me from putting Salîṭ in command is his rashness in war. Rashness in war, unless everything is clear, is disastrous. By God, if it were not for that, I should have made him commander, but only a calm man is suited for warfare."

This is what 'Umar said. It is proof that in war it is better to go slow than to be hasty, until the situation in a particular battle is clear. This is the contrary of what aṣ-Ṣayrafî said, unless he means attacking after everything is clear. This is a possible explanation. And God knows better.

There is no certainty of victory in war, even when the equipment and the numerical (strength) that cause victory (under normal circumstances), exist. Victory and superiority in war come from luck and chance. This is explained by the fact that the causes of superiority are, as a rule, a combination of several factors. There are external factors, such as the number of soldiers, the perfection and good quality of weapons, the number of brave men, (skillful) arrangement of the line formation, the proper tactics, and similar things. Then, there are hidden factors. (These hidden factors) may be the result of human ruse and trickery, such as spreading alarming news and rumors to cause defections (in the ranks of the enemy); occupying high points, so that one is able to attack from above, which surprises those below and causes them to abandon each other; hiding in thickets or depressions and

II, 76

[639] The following two statements ascribed to 'Umar are quoted from aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 2161, *anno* 13. Both Abû 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafî and Salîṭ b. Qays were killed in the early stages of the campaign.

concealing oneself from the enemy in rocky terrain, so that the armies (of one's own side) suddenly appear when (the enemy) is in a precarious situation and he must then flee to safety (instead of defending himself), and similar things. These hidden factors may also be celestial matters, which man has no power to produce for himself. They affect people psychologically, and thus generate fear in (them). They cause confusion in the centers of (armies), and there are routs. Routs very often are the result of hidden causes, because both parties make much use of (the opportunities offered by) them in their desire for victory. One of them must by necessity be successful in their use. Wherefore, Muḥammad said: "War is trickery." [640] An Arab proverb says: "Many a trick is worth more than a tribe." [640a]

It is thus clear that superiority in war is, as a rule, the result of hidden causes, not of external ones. The occurrence of opportunities as the result of hidden causes is what is meant by the word "luck," as has been established in the proper place. Considering the fact that superiority may be the result of celestial factors, as we have explained, one understands Muḥammad's statement: "I was helped through the terror (that befell the enemy) for the length of one month's journey." [641] (The same fact explains) Muḥammad's victory with
II, 77 small numbers over the polytheists during his lifetime, and the victories of the Muslims during the Muslim conquests after (Muḥammad's death). God took care of His Prophet. He threw terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. (That terror,) eventually, seized control over their hearts, and they fled. (This, then, was) a miracle wrought by God's Messenger. Terror in the hearts of their enemies was why there were so many routs during the Muslim conquests, but it was a factor concealed from the eyes.

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[640] Cf. *Handbook*, p. 248*a*; below, p. 131.

[640a] Cf. Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah* (Cairo, 1351–58/1932–40), XIII, 175, quoting the *Natâ'ij al-afkâr* by 'Alî b. Yaḥyâ al-Maḥramî, d. 646 [1248/49]. Maskawayh, *Jâwîdhân Khiradh* (Cairo, 1952), p. 206, and ar-Râghib al-Iṣfahânî, *Muḥâḍarât*, I, 10, have *ghîlah* "treachery" instead of "tribe."

[641] Cf. *Concordance*, II, 271*b*, ll. 5 ff. Cf. also, below, p. 179.

Aṭ-Ṭurṭûshî [642] mentions that one of the reasons for victory in war is that one side may have a larger number of brave and famous knights than the other. For instance, one side may have ten or twenty famous heroes, and the other only eight or sixteen. The side that has more, even if only one more, will be victorious. He states this very emphatically. He is referring to the external causes we have mentioned before, but he is not right. What is the fact proven to make for superiority is the situation with regard to group feeling. If one side has a (single) group feeling comprising all, while the other side is made up of numerous different groups, and if both sides are approximately the same in numbers, then the side that has a single (comprehensive) group feeling is stronger than, and superior to, the side that is made up of several different groups. These different groups are likely to abandon each other, as is the case with separate individuals who have no group feeling at all, each of the groups being in the same position as an individual. Thus, the side composed of several different groups cannot stand up to the side whose group feeling is one. This should be understood. It should be II, 78
realized that this is a better explanation than the one attempted by aṭ-Ṭurṭûshî. Aṭ-Ṭurṭûshî's (explanation) was suggested by the fact that the importance of group feeling was no longer known in his generation and in the place where he lived.[643] (People in this situation) think of defense, military protection, and the pressing of claims, in terms of individuals and masses of individuals. They do not consider group feeling or common descent in this connection. We explained this at the beginning of the book.[644]

Moreover, such and similar things, if correct, still belong among the external causes (of victory), such as the existence of an identical number of soldiers on both sides, the proper tactics, the quantity of weapons, and similar things. How

[642] The reference apparently is to Ch. XII of the *Sirâj*. Cf. the stories mentioned there on p. 176.

[643] Cf. 1:316 f., above.

[644] The reference is apparently to the beginning of Ch. III (1:313, above). De Slane thought it was to 1:341 f., above.

could such things guarantee victory, considering that we have just established that none of them is a match for the hidden causes, such as ruse and trickery, or for the celestial factors, such as divine terror and defection? This should be known, and the conditions of the world should be understood. God determines night and day.[645]

The idea of victory in war as depending on hidden and unnatural causes (reminds us) of the related situation that exists with regard to fame and renown. Fame and renown are rarely to be found in their proper places anywhere in any class of people, whether they be rulers, scholars, pious men, or the virtuous in general. Many people are famous and renowned, yet do not deserve it. Many are reputed villains, yet they are just the opposite. Many have been passed over by fame, and yet they may deserve it and be more entitled to it (than others). Sometimes, fame and renown are to be found in their proper places and do conform to the actual merit of the person who enjoys them.

The reason for this is that fame and renown are the result of (historical) information. In the process of transmission, the
II, 79 (original) intentions are forgotten, and bias and partisanship affect the information, as do unfounded assumptions as well as ignorance of the conformity of the stories to (actual) conditions,[646] resulting from the fact that they have become obscured by falsification and artifice, or from the ignorance of the transmitter. (The information is also) affected by the desire to insinuate oneself into the good graces of great men of the world and other persons of high rank through eulogizing and praising (them), embellishing the facts and spreading fame in this manner.[647] The (human) soul is ardently in love with praise, and people go all out for this world and for the rank or wealth that belong (to this world). As a rule, they have no desire for virtue, and they do not care for those who

[645] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).
[646] Cf. 1:72, above.
[647] Cf. 1:72, above.

have it. In view of all this, how could (we expect) there to be any conformity with the truth? Thus, renown results from hidden causes and does not conform (to reality). Things that result from hidden causes are what we express by the word "luck," as has been established.

[36] *Taxation and the reason for low and high (tax revenues).*

It [648] should be known that at the beginning of the dynasty, taxation yields a large revenue from small assessments. At the end of the dynasty, taxation yields a small revenue from large assessments.

The reason for this is that when the dynasty follows the ways (*sunan*) of the religion, it imposes only such taxes as are stipulated by the religious law, such as charity taxes, the land tax, and the poll tax. They mean small assessments, because, as everyone knows, the charity tax on property [649] is low. The same applies to the charity tax on grain and cattle, and also to the poll tax, the land tax, and all other taxes required by the religious law. They have fixed limits that cannot be overstepped.

When the dynasty follows the ways of group feeling and (political) superiority, it necessarily has at first a desert attitude, as has been mentioned before. The desert attitude II, 80
requires kindness, reverence, humility, respect for the property of other people, and disinclination to appropriate it,[650] except in rare instances. Therefore, the individual imposts and assessments, which together constitute the tax revenue, are low. When tax assessments and imposts upon the subjects are low, the latter have the energy and desire to do things. Cultural enterprises grow and increase, because the low taxes

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[648] Cf. Issawi, pp. 87 f.; [H. Pérès], in *Bulletin des études arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 10 ff.

[649] That is, on holdings of gold and silver and goods.

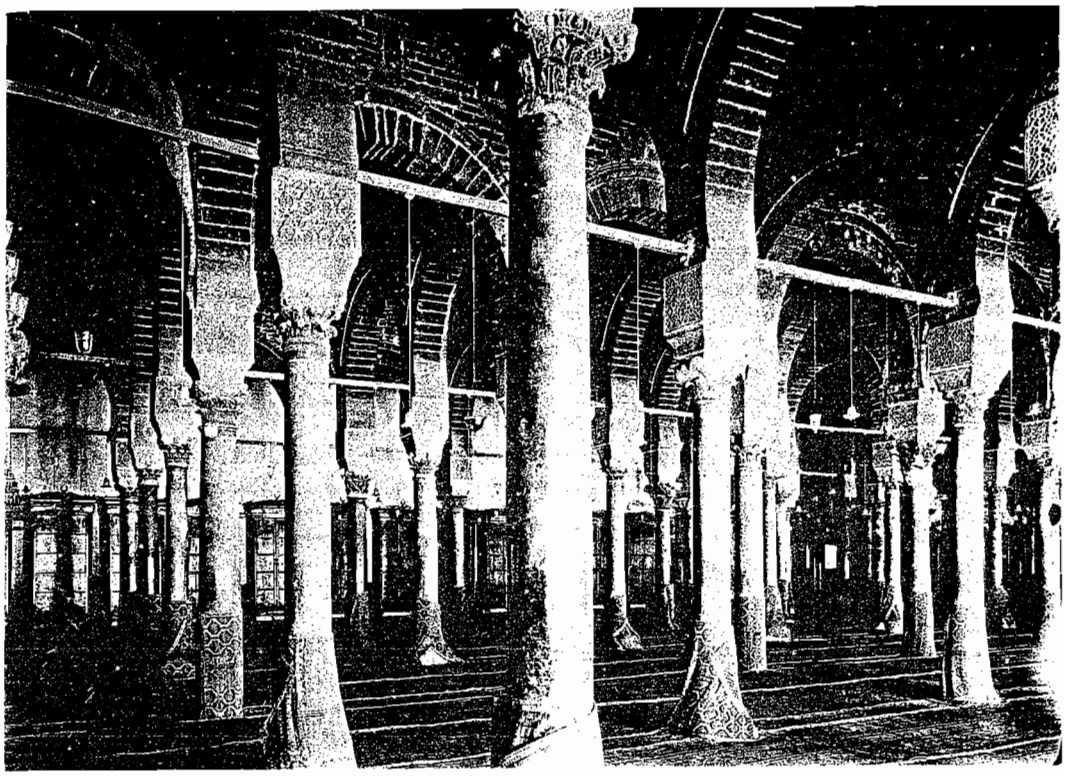
[650] This would seem to be in contradiction with what was said earlier about the rapacity of "the Arabs." Cf. 1:302 ff., above. However, to Ibn Khaldûn "desert attitude" rather signifies the good side of nomadism. Cf. also p. 122, below.

bring satisfaction. When cultural enterprises grow, the number of individual imposts and assessments mounts. In consequence, the tax revenue, which is the sum total of (the individual assessments), increases.

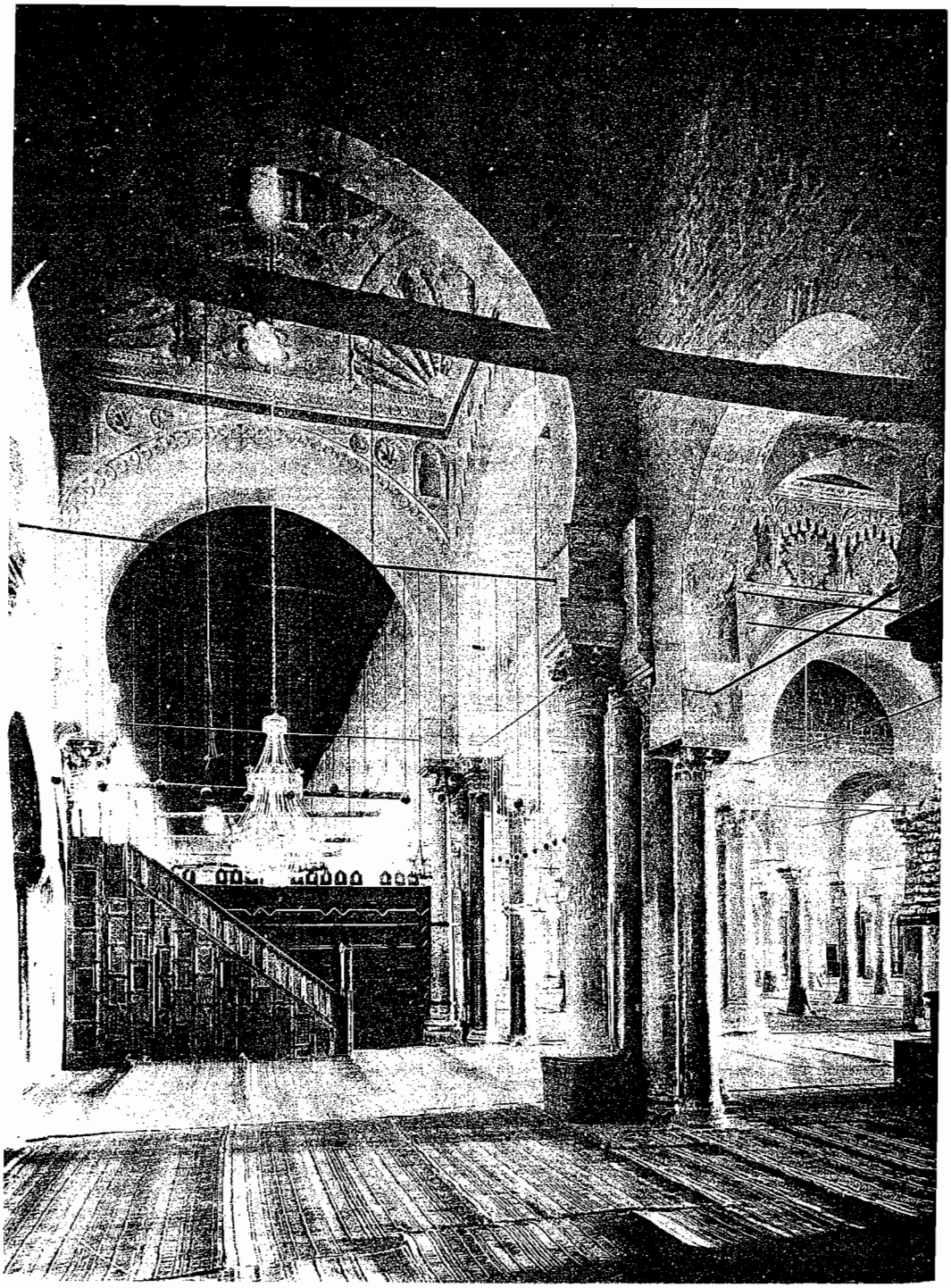
When the dynasty continues in power and their rulers follow each other in succession, they become sophisticated. The Bedouin attitude and simplicity lose their significance, and the Bedouin qualities of moderation and restraint disappear. Royal authority with its tyranny, and sedentary culture that stimulates sophistication, make their appearance. The people of the dynasty then acquire qualities of character related to cleverness. Their customs and needs become more varied because of the prosperity and luxury in which they are immersed. As a result, the individual imposts and assessments upon the subjects, agricultural laborers, farmers, and all the other taxpayers, increase. Every individual impost and assessment is greatly increased, in order to obtain a higher tax revenue. Customs duties are placed upon articles of commerce and (levied) at the city gates, as we shall mention later on.[651] Then, gradual increases in the amount of the assessments succeed each other regularly, in correspondence with the gradual increase in the luxury customs and many needs of the dynasty and the spending required in connection with them. Eventually, the taxes will weigh heavily upon the subjects and overburden them. Heavy taxes become an obli-
II, *81* gation and tradition, because the increases took place gradually, and no one knows specifically who increased them or levied them. They lie upon the subjects like an obligation and tradition.

The assessments increase beyond the limits of equity. The result is that the interest of the subjects in cultural enterprises disappears, since when they compare expenditures and taxes with their income and gain and see the little profit they make, they lose all hope. Therefore, many of them refrain from all cultural activity. The result is that the total tax

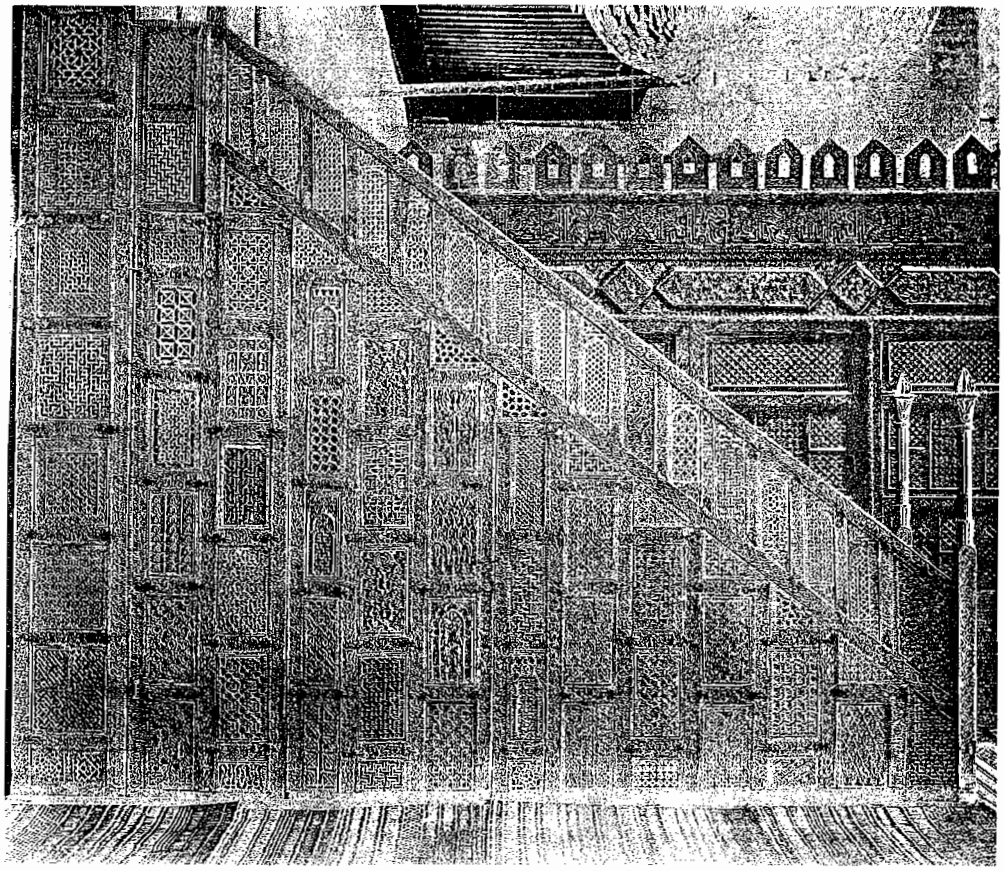
[651] In the following section.



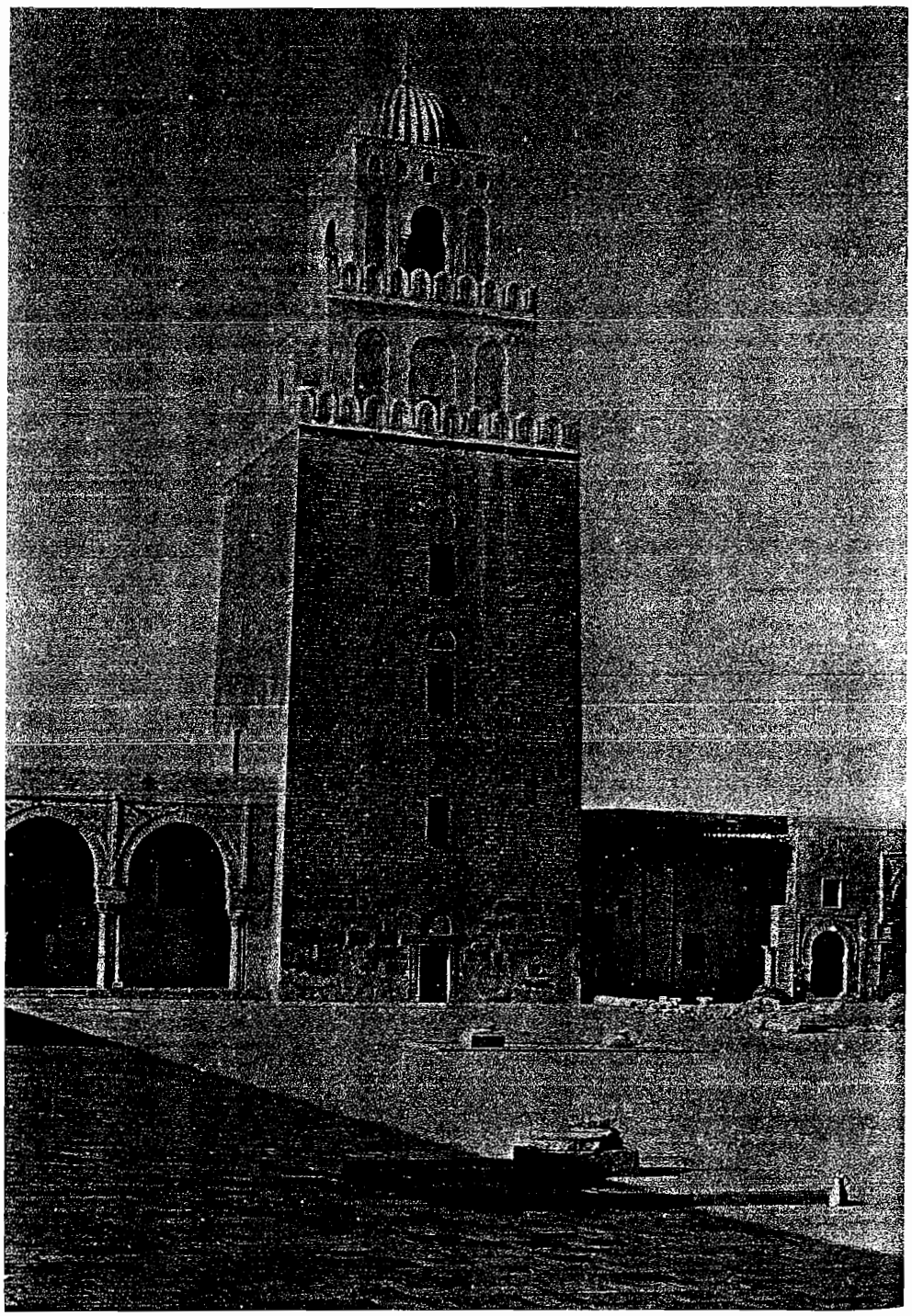
III. The Great Mosque of Tunis



IV. *Minbar* and *Maqṣûrah* of the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawân



V. *Minbar* and *Maqṣûrah* of the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawân: detail



VI. The Minaret of the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawân

revenue goes down, as (the number of) the individual assessments goes down. Often, when the decrease is noticed, the amounts of individual imposts are increased. This is considered a means of compensating for the decrease. Finally, individual imposts and assessments reach their limit. It would be of no avail to increase them further. The costs of all cultural enterprise are now too high, the taxes are too heavy, and the profits anticipated fail to materialize. Thus, the total revenue continues to decrease, while the amounts of individual imposts and assessments continue to increase, because it is believed that such an increase will compensate (for the drop in revenue) in the end. Finally, civilization is destroyed, because the incentive for cultural activity is gone. It is the dynasty that suffers from the situation, because it (is the dynasty that) profits from cultural activity.

If (the reader) understands this, he will realize that the strongest incentive for cultural activity is to lower as much as possible the amounts of individual imposts levied upon persons capable of undertaking cultural enterprises. In this manner, such persons will be psychologically disposed to undertake them, because they can be confident of making a profit from them.

God owns all things.

[37] *In the later (years) of dynasties, customs duties are levied.* II, 82

It should be known that at the beginning, dynasties maintain the Bedouin attitude, as we have stated.[652] Therefore, they have few needs, since luxury and the habits that go with it do not (yet) exist. Expenses and expenditures are small. At that time, revenue from taxes pays for much more than the necessary expenditures, and there is a large surplus.

The dynasty, then, soon starts to adopt the luxury and luxury customs of sedentary culture, and follows the course that had been taken by previous dynasties. The result is that

[652] Cf. p. 89, above.

the expenses of the people of the dynasty grow. Especially do the expenses of the ruler mount excessively, on account of his expenditures for his entourage and the great number of allowances he has to grant. The (available) revenue from taxes cannot pay for all that. Therefore, the dynasty must increase its revenues, because the militia needs (ever) larger allowances and the ruler needs (ever) more money to meet his expenditures.[653] At first, the amounts of individual imposts and assessments are increased, as we have stated. Then, as expenses and needs increase under the influence of the gradual growth of luxury customs and additional allowances for the militia, the dynasty is affected by senility. Its people are too weak to collect the taxes from the provinces and remote areas. Thus, the revenue from taxes decreases, while the habits (requiring money) increase. As they increase, salaries and allowances to the soldiers also increase. Therefore, the ruler must invent new kinds of taxes. He levies them on commerce. He imposes taxes of a certain amount on prices realized in the markets and on the various (imported) goods at the city gates.[653a] (The ruler) is, after all, forced to this because people have become spoiled by generous allowances, and because of the growing numbers of soldiers and militiamen. In the later (years) of the dynasty, (taxation) may become excessive. Business falls off, be-
II, 83 cause all hopes (of profit) are destroyed, permitting the dissolution of civilization and reflecting upon (the status of) the dynasty. This (situation) becomes more and more aggravated, until (the dynasty) disintegrates.

Much of this sort happened in the Eastern cities during the later days of the ʿAbbâsid and ʿUbaydid(-Fâṭimid) dynasties. Taxes were levied even upon pilgrims making the pilgrimage. Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn Ibn Ayyûb abolished all such institutions and replaced them with good works. The same also happened in Spain at the time of the *reyes de taïfas*.

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[653] Cf. also 1:340 f., above.

[653a] The first part of the sentence refers to a sales tax, the second to a levy on imported merchandise.

Yûsuf b. Tâshfîn, the Almoravid amir, put an end to it. The same has also been happening in the cities of the Jarîd in Ifrîqiyah, ever since their chiefs gained control over them.[654]

God "is kind to His servants."[655]

[38] *Commercial activity on the part of the ruler is harmful to his subjects and ruinous to the tax revenue.*[656]

It should be known that a dynasty may find itself in financial straits, as we have mentioned before, on account of its luxury and the number of (its luxurious) habits and on account of its expenditures and the insufficiency of the tax revenue to pay for its needs and expenditures. It may need more money and higher revenues. Then, it sometimes imposes customs duties on the commercial activities of (its) subjects, as we have mentioned in the previous section. Sometimes, it increases the kinds of customs duties, if (customs duties as such) had been introduced before. Sometimes, it applies torture to its officials and tax collectors and sucks their bones dry (of a part of their fortune). (This happens) when officials and tax collectors are observed to have appropriated a good deal of tax money, which their accounts do not show.[657]

Sometimes, the ruler himself may engage in commerce and agriculture, from desire to increase (his) revenues. He sees that merchants and farmers make (great) profits and have plenty of property. (He sees) that their gains correspond to the capital they invest. Therefore, he starts to acquire livestock and fields in order to cultivate them for profit, purchase goods, and (enter business and) expose himself to

II, *84*

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[654] This refers to the reign of the Ḥafṣid Abû Bakr, down to the time of the restoration of Ḥafṣid power under Abû l-'Abbâs. Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 387; de Slane (tr.), III, 91. Cf. also pp. 116 and 304, below.

[655] Qur'ân 42.19 (18).

[656] Cf. Ja'far ad-Dimashqî, *al-Ishârah ilâ maḥâsin at-tijârah* (Cairo, 1318/1900), p. 41; tr. H. Ritter, "Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft," *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 59.

[657] Cf. pp. 123 f., below.

fluctuations of the market. He thinks that this will improve (his) revenues and increase (his) profits.

However, this is a great error. It causes harm to the subjects in many ways. First, farmers and merchants will find it difficult to buy livestock and merchandise and to procure cheaply the things that belong to (farming and commerce). The subjects have (all) the same or approximately the same amount of wealth. Competition between them already exhausts, or comes close to exhausting, their financial resources. Now, when the ruler, who has so much more money than they, competes with them, scarcely a single one of them will (any longer) be able to obtain the things he wants, and everybody will become worried and unhappy.

Furthermore, the ruler can appropriate much of (the agricultural products and the available merchandise), if it occurs to him. (He can do it) by force, or by buying things up at the cheapest possible price. Further, there may be no one who would dare to bid against him. Thus, he will be able to force the seller to lower his price. Further, when agricultural products such as corn, silk, honey, sugar, and other kinds of agricultural products, or goods of any kind, become available, the ruler cannot wait for a (favorable) market and a boom, because he has to take care of government (needs). Therefore, he forces the merchants or farmers who deal in these particular products to buy from him. He will be satisfied only with the highest prices and more. (The mer-
II, 85 chants and farmers, on the other hand), will exhaust their liquid capital in such transactions. The merchandise they thus acquire will remain useless on their hands. They themselves will no longer be able to trade, which is what enables them to earn something and make their living. Often, they need money. Then, they have to sell the goods (that they were forced to buy from the ruler), at the lowest prices, during a slump in the market. Often, the merchant or farmer has to do the same thing over again. He thus exhausts his capital and has to go out of business.[658]

[658] Cf. also pp. 109 f., below.

This becomes an often repeated process. The trouble and financial difficulties and the loss of profit which it causes the subjects, takes away from them all incentives to effort, thus ruining the fiscal (structure). Most of the revenue from taxes comes from farmers and merchants, especially once customs duties have been introduced and the tax revenue has been augmented by means of them. Thus, when the farmer gives up agriculture and the merchant goes out of business, the revenue from taxes vanishes altogether or becomes dangerously low.

Were the ruler to compare the revenue from taxes with the small profits (he reaps from trading himself), he would find the latter negligible in comparison with the former. Even if (his trading) were profitable, it would still deprive him of a good deal of his revenue from taxes, so far as commerce is concerned. It is unlikely that customs duties might be levied on (the ruler's commercial activities). If, however, the same deals were made by others (and not by the ruler), the customs duties (levied in connection with them) would be included in the tax total.

Furthermore, (the trading of the ruler) may cause the destruction of civilization and, through the destruction and decrease of (civilization), the disintegration of the dynasty. When the subjects can no longer make their capital larger through agriculture and commerce, it will decrease and disappear as the result of expenditures. This will ruin their situation. This should be understood.

The Persians made no one king except members of the royal house. Further, they chose him from among those (members of the royal house) who possessed virtue, religion, education, liberality, bravery, and nobility. Then, they stipulated in addition that he should be just. Also, he was not to take a farm, as this would harm his neighbors. He was not to engage in trade, as this would of necessity raise the prices of all goods. And he was not to use slaves as servants, since they would not give good and beneficial advice. II, *86*

It should be known that the finances of a ruler can be in-

creased, and his financial resources improved, only through the revenue from taxes. (The revenue from taxes) can be improved only through the equitable treatment of people with property and regard for them. This makes their hopes rise, and they have the incentive to start making their capital bear fruit and grow. This, in turn, increases the ruler's revenues in taxes. Other (measures) taken by the ruler, such as engaging in commerce or agriculture, soon turn out to be harmful to the subjects, to be ruinous to the revenues, and to decrease cultural activity.

Amirs and other men in power in a country who engage in commerce and agriculture, reach a point where they undertake to buy agricultural products and goods from their owners who come to them, at prices fixed by themselves as they see fit. Then, they resell these things to the subjects under their control, at the proper times, at prices fixed by themselves. This is even more dangerous, harmful, and ruinous for the subjects than the afore-mentioned (procedure). The ruler is often influenced to choose such a (course) by that sort of people—I mean, merchants and farmers—who bring him into contact with the profession in which they have been reared. They influence the ruler to choose this (course). They work with him, but for their own profit, to garner quickly as much money as they may wish, especially through
II, 87 profits reaped from doing business without having to pay taxes and customs duties. Exemption from taxes and customs duties is more likely than anything else to cause one's capital to grow, and it brings quick profits. These people do not understand how much damage is caused the ruler by each decrease in the revenue from taxes. The ruler, therefore, must guard against such persons, and not pay any attention to suggestions that are harmful to his revenues and his rule.

May God inspire us to choose the right course for ourselves, and may He make us profit from our beneficial actions. There is no Lord except Him.

[39] *The ruler and his entourage are wealthy only in the middle (period) of the dynasty.*

The reason for this is that at the beginning of the dynasty, the revenues are distributed among the tribe [659] and the people who share in the ruler's group feeling, in accordance with their usefulness and group feeling and because they are needed to establish the dynasty, as we have stated before.[660] Under these circumstances, their leader refrains in their favor from (claiming) the revenues which they would like to have. He feels compensated for (his restraint) by the control over them that he hopes to establish. They can put pressure on him, and he needs them. His share of the revenues is restricted to the very small (amounts) he needs. Consequently, the members of his entourage and company, his wazirs, secretaries, and clients, usually can be observed to be destitute. Their position is restricted, because it depends on the position of their master, and the authority of (his position) is narrowed down by the competition of the people who share in his group feeling.

Then, when royal authority has come into its own and the ruler has obtained control over his people, he prevents them from getting (any part of) the revenues, beyond their official shares. Their portions shrink, because their usefulness to the dynasty has diminished. Their influence has been checked, and clients and followers have come to share with them in the support of the dynasty and the establishment of its power. At this time, the ruler disposes alone of the whole income from taxes, or the greater part of it. He keeps this money, and holds it for spending on important projects. His wealth grows. His treasuries are filled. The authority of his position expands, and he dominates all his people. As a consequence, the men of his entourage and retinue, the wazir, the secretary, the doorkeeper (*ḥâjib*), the client, and the policeman, all be- II, 88

[659] Bulaq: "the members of the tribe."

[660] Cf., for instance, 1:353, above.

come more important, and their positions expand. They acquire property and enrich themselves.

Then, when the dynasty starts to become senile, as the result of the dissolution of group feeling and the disappearance of the tribe that founded it, the ruler needs supporters and helpers, because there are then many seceders, rivals, and rebels, and there is the fear of (complete) destruction. His revenues then go to his allies and supporters, military men who have their own group feelings. He spends his treasures and revenues on attempts to restore (the power of) the dynasty.[661] Moreover, the revenue from taxes decreases, as we have stated before,[662] because there are many allowances to be paid and expenditures to be made. The revenues from the land tax decrease. The dynasty's need for money becomes more urgent. The intimates, the doorkeepers (*ḥâjib*), and the secretaries no longer live under the shadow of prosperity and luxury, as their positions lose importance and the authority of the ruler's (position) shrinks.

The ruler's need for money at this time becomes even more urgent. The new generation within his inner circle and entourage spend the money with which their fathers had enriched themselves, for a purpose for which it was not intended, namely, that of helping the ruler. They begin to be no longer as sincerely loyal as their fathers and ancestors had
II, 89 been. The ruler, in turn, becomes of the opinion that he is more entitled than they to the wealth that was acquired (by their fathers) during the reign of his predecessors and with the help of their position. He takes it and appropriates it for himself, gradually (and) according to their ranks. (As a result,) the dynasty becomes detestable [663] to them, and, in turn, it is the dynasty that suffers therefrom. It loses its entourage and great personalities and its rich and wealthy intimates. A great part of the edifice of glory crumbles, after

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[661] The idea of "restoration" is not found in the text of Bulaq.

[662] Cf. p. 92, above.

[663] A. Schimmel, *Ibn Chaldun* (Tübingen, 1951), p. 134: "is unfriendly . . ."

having been supported and built up to a great height by those who shared in it.

One may compare what happened in this regard to the 'Abbâsid wazirs, such as the Banû Qaḥṭabah, the Barmecides, the Banû Sahl, the Banû Ṭâhir, and others. One may further (compare) what happened at the time of the dissolution of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain in the days of the *reyes de taïfas*, to the Banû Shuhayd, the Banû Abî 'Abdah, the Banû Ḥudayr, the Banû Burd, and others. The same is happening in the dynasty we have lived to see in our own time. "This is how God proceeds. . . . And verily, you will not be able to change God's way." [664]

Anticipating such dangerous situations, most of the people in the dynasty try to avoid holding any government position. They try to escape from government control and go to some other region with the government property they have acquired. They are of the opinion that (to do) this will be more wholesome for them and give them the opportunity to spend and enjoy (their money) in greater safety. This assumption is a great mistake and a self-deception that will ruin them materially.

It should be known that it is difficult and impossible to escape (from official life) after having once been in it. When the person who has such intentions is the ruler himself, his subjects and the people who share in his group feeling and crowd around him will not for a moment permit him to escape. If any such (intention) on his part becomes visible, it means the destruction of his realm and the ruin of himself. (This would be) the usual result in such a case, for it is difficult to escape from the servitude of royal authority, especially when the dynasty has reached its peak and its authority is shrinking, and it is becoming more remote from glory and good qualities, and acquiring bad qualities. II, 90

If the person who intends to escape is one of the ruler's

[664] Qur'ân 33.62 (62); 35.43 (41); 48.23 (23).

inner circle and entourage or one of the dignitaries in his dynasty, he rarely is given the opportunity to do so. The reason is, in the first place, that rulers consider their people and entourage and, indeed, all their subjects as slaves familiar with their thoughts and sentiments. Therefore, they are not disposed to loosen the bonds of servitude binding the person (who may have the desire to escape). They want to avoid the chance that someone (outside) might come to know (their secrets) and their circumstances (through that person), and they are averse to letting him become the servant of others.

The Spanish Umayyads thus prevented their people from going abroad to fulfill the duty of the pilgrimage. They were afraid they might fall into the hands of the 'Abbâsids. During all their days, none of their people made the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage was (again) permitted to (Spaniards) who belonged to the (various) dynasties in Spain, only after the Umayyad rule had come to an end and (Spain) had reverted to control of the *reyes de taïfas*.

In the second place, even if rulers were kind enough to loosen the bonds (of a person who intended to escape from their control), their kindness would not extend to leaving his property alone. They consider it part of their own wealth—in the same way that its owner has been part of their dynasty—in as much as it was obtained only through the dynasty and under the shadow of its authority. Therefore, they are most eager to take his property and to let it remain as it is, as something belonging to the dynasty that they (are entitled to) use.

Furthermore, assuming that he gets away with his property to some other region, which happens in very rare cases,
II, *91* (he is not safe there either, because) the eyes of the rulers in that region fall on him, and they deprive him of (his property) by indirect threats and intimidation or by open force. They consider (his property) as revenue or as government property, which should be spent in the public interest. If the eyes of (rulers) can fall upon rich and wealthy people who have acquired their money in the exercise of a profession,

as we have mentioned,[665] it is all the more understandable that their eyes can fall upon tax monies and government property, to which they have access by law and custom.

One may compare what happened to the Judge of Jabalah.[666] He had revolted against Ibn 'Ammâr, the master of Tripoli. The European Christians took Jabalah away from him. He fled to Damascus and then to Baghdad, which was under the rule of Sultan Barkiyâruq b. Malikshâh. That was at the end of the fifth [eleventh] century. The wazir of the Sultan went to the Judge of Jabalah and borrowed most of his money from him. Then, they cleaned him out completely. It was an inestimable amount.

Sultan Abû Yaḥyâ Zakarîyâ' b. Aḥmad al-Liḥyânî, the ninth or the tenth of the Ḥafṣid rulers in Ifrîqiyah,[667] intended to get away from the responsibility of royal authority and to go to Egypt. He wanted to escape the ruler of the western border regions when (the latter) prepared for a raid on Tunis. (Ibn) al-Liḥyânî, therefore, pretended to make a trip to the border region of Tripoli, in order to conceal the preparations (for his escape). There, he boarded ship and escaped to Alexandria. He had taken with him all the property and treasures he found in the treasury, and he had sold all the furniture, real property, and jewelry in the Ḥafṣid treasuries, even including the books. He took all that along with him to Egypt. He took up residence with al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad b. Qalâ'ûn in the year 719 [1319].[668] (Al-Malik an-Nâṣir)

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[665] Ibn Khaldûn probably refers to what he said on pp. 93 f.

[666] The name of the Judge of Jabalah (south of Lattakiyah; cf. 1:143, above) was 'Ubaydallâh b. Manṣûr Ibn Ṣulayḥah, and the events referred to took place in 494 [1101] according to Ibn Khaldûn's source, Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil*, X, 128 f., quoted again in *'Ibar*, V, 185 f. The name of the wazir was al-A'azz Abû l-Maḥâsin 'Abd-al-Jalîl b. Muḥammad, who died shortly afterwards, in 495 [1101].

[667] On the numbering of the Ḥafṣids, see n. 155 to this chapter, and pp. 17, 72, above; pp. 116, 222, below. Abû Yaḥyâ reigned from 1311 until 1317, when his rule began to crumble under the onslaught of Abû Bakr [1318–1346], and he left the country in 718 [1318]. His death is usually assumed to have occurred in 727 [1326], a year earlier than Ibn Khaldûn puts it. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 142 f.

[668] Wrongly, Bulaq has 717.

II, *92* treated him hospitably and gave him a place of honor. But he did not cease to deprive him of his treasure, gradually, by indirect demands, until he had gotten it all. The only livelihood remaining to Ibn al-Liḥyânî was the salary that al-Malik an-Nâṣir granted him until his death in 728 [1327/28], as we shall mention in his history.[669]

This and similar things belong among the delusions to which the people of dynasties fall prey, when they suspect that the ruler is a danger to them. They may indeed escape with their lives, if they succeed in escaping. But to imagine that it is a necessity is an erroneous and baseless assumption. The renown they obtain in government service suffices for them to find livelihoods for themselves, either in the form of a salary paid by a ruler or in the form of a position in the profitable exercise of commerce and agriculture. Dynasties are (inter)related,[670] but

> The soul is ambitious, if it is given the opportunity.[671]
> But if it is reduced to little, it is satisfied.

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid."[672]

[40] *Curtailment of the allowances given by the ruler implies curtailment of the tax revenue.*

The[673] reason for this is that dynasty and government serve as the world's greatest market place,[674] providing the substance of civilization. Now, if the ruler holds on to property and revenue, or they are lost or not properly used by him, then the property in the possession of the ruler's en-

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[669] Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 330 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 452 f.

[670] Therefore, they always take care of their people.

[671] *Raghghabtahâ*, as required by the meter. B wrongly vocalizes *raghibtahâ*. This is a verse often quoted, by the seventh-century poet Abû Dhu'ayb. Cf. J. Hell, *Der Diwan des Abû Ḏu'aib* (Hannover, 1926), No. 1, verse 14. Cf. also, for instance, Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyûn al-akhbâr* (Cairo, 1343–49/1925–30), II, 191; III, 185; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd* (Cairo, 1305/1887), I, 315; II, 13; III, 94; Usâmah b. Munqidh, *Lubâb al-âdâb* (Cairo, 1354/1935), p. 425.

[672] Qur'ân 51.58 (58).

[673] Cf. Issawi, p. 91.

[674] Cf. 1:46 f., above, and pp. 287 and 352, below.

tourage [675] will be small. The gifts which they, in their turn, had been used to give to their entourage and people, stop, and all their expenditures are cut down. They constitute the greatest number of people (who make expenditures), and their expenditures provide more of the substance of trade than (the expenditures of) any other (group of people). Thus (when they stop spending), business slumps and commercial profits decline because of the shortage of capital. Revenues from the land tax decrease, because the land tax and taxation (in general) depend on cultural activity, commercial transactions, business prosperity, and the people's demand for gain and profit. It is the dynasty that suffers from the situation and that has a deficit, because under these circumstances the property of the ruler decreases in consequence of the decrease in revenues from the land tax. As we have stated, the dynasty is the greatest market, the mother and base of all trade. (It is the market that provides) the substance of income and expenditures (for trade). If government business slumps and the volume of trade is small, the dependent markets will naturally show the same symptoms, and to a greater degree. Furthermore, money circulates between subjects and ruler, moving back and forth. Now, if the ruler keeps it to himself, it is lost to the subjects. II, 93

This is how God proceeds with His servants.

[41] *Injustice brings about the ruin of civilization.*

It [676] should be known that attacks on people's property remove the incentive to acquire and gain property. People, then, become of the opinion that the purpose and ultimate destiny of (acquiring property) is to have it taken away from them. When the incentive to acquire and obtain property is gone, people no longer make efforts to acquire any. The extent and degree to which property rights are infringed upon determines the extent and degree to which the efforts of the subjects to acquire property slacken. When attacks (on

[675] Bulaq adds: "and militia."
[676] Cf. Issawi, pp. 84 f.

property) are extensive and general, extending to all means of making a livelihood, business inactivity, too, becomes (general), because the general extent of (such attacks upon property) means a general destruction of the incentive (to do business). If the attacks upon property are but light, the stoppage of gainful activity is correspondingly slight. Civili-
II, 94 zation and its well-being as well as business prosperity depend on productivity and people's efforts in all directions in their own interest and profit. When people no longer do business in order to make a living, and when they cease all gainful activity, the business of civilization slumps, and everything decays. People scatter everywhere in search of sustenance, to places outside the jurisdiction of their present government. The population of the particular region becomes light. The settlements there become empty. The cities lie in ruins. The disintegration of (civilization) causes the disintegration of the status of dynasty and ruler, because (their peculiar status) constitutes the *form* of civilization and the form necessarily decays when its *matter* (in this case, civilization) decays.[676a]

One may compare (here) the story which al-Mas'ûdî tells in connection with the history of the Persians.[677] In the days of King Bahrâm b. Bahrâm, the Môbedhân, the chief religious dignitary among the Persians, expressed to the King his disapproval of the latter's injustice and neglect for the consequences that his injustice must bring upon the dynasty. He did this through a parable, which he placed in the mouth of an owl. The King, hearing the cry of (an owl), asked (the Môbedhân) whether he understood what it was saying. (The Môbedhân) replied: "A male owl wanted to marry a female owl. The female owl, as a condition prior to consent, asked the male owl for the gift of twenty villages ruined in the days of Bahrâm, that she might hoot in them.

[676a] Cf. pp. 107 and 291 (n. 139), below.

[677] Cf. 1:80, above. Cf. also the English translation of this story from the Persian of Niẓâmî by E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London, 1902–24), II, 404.

(The male owl) accepted her condition and said to her: 'If the King continues to rule, I shall give you a thousand ruined villages. This is of all wishes the easiest to fulfill.' "

The King was stirred out of his negligence by that story. He had a private (talk) with the Môbedhân and asked him what he had in mind. (The Môbedhân) replied: "O King, the might of royal authority materializes only through the religious law, obedience toward God, and compliance with His commands and prohibitions. The religious law persists only through royal authority. Mighty royal authority is achieved only through men. Men persist only with the help of property. The only way to property is through cultivation. The only way to cultivation is through justice. Justice is a balance II, *95*
set up among mankind. The Lord set it up and appointed an overseer of it, and that is the ruler. You, O King, went after the farms and took them away from their owners and cultivators. They are the people who pay the land tax and from whom one gets money. You gave their farms as fiefs to (your) entourage and servants and to sluggards. They did not cultivate (the farms) and did not heed the consequences. (They did not look for the things) that would be good for the farms. They were leniently treated with regard to the land tax (and were not asked to pay it), because they were close to the king. The remaining landowners who did pay the land tax and cultivated their farms had to carry an unjust burden. Therefore, they left their farms and abandoned their settlements. They took refuge in farms that were far away or difficult (of access), and lived on them. Thus, cultivation slackened, and the farms were ruined. There was little money, and soldiers and subjects perished. Neighboring rulers coveted the Persian realm, because they were aware of the fact that the basic materials that alone maintain the foundation of a realm had been cut off."

When the King heard that, he proceeded to look into (the affairs of) his realm. The farms were taken away from the intimates of the ruler and restored to their owners. They were again treated, as they had formerly been treated. They

began again to cultivate (their farms). Those who had been weak gained in strength. The land was cultivated, and the country became prosperous. There was much money for the collectors of the land tax. The army was strengthened. The enemies' sources of (strength) were cut off. The frontier garrisons were manned. The ruler proceeded to take personal charge of his affairs. His days were prosperous, and his realm was well organized.

The lesson this (story) teaches is that injustice ruins civilization. The ruin (of civilization) has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty. In this connection,
II, *96* one should disregard the fact that dynasties (centered) in great cities often infringe upon justice and still are not ruined. It should be known that this is the result of a relationship that exists between such infringements and the situation of the urban population. When a city is large and densely populated and unlimited in the variety of its conditions, the loss it suffers from hostile acts and injustice is small, because such losses take place gradually. Because of the great variety of conditions and the manifold productivity of a particular city, any loss may remain concealed. Its consequences will become visible only after some time. Thus, the dynasty which committed the infringements (of justice) may be replaced before the city is ruined. Another dynasty may make its appearance and restore the city with the help of its wealth. Thus, the (previous) loss which had remained concealed, is made up and is scarcely noticed. This, however, happens only rarely. The proven fact is that civilization inevitably suffers losses through injustice and hostile acts, as we have mentioned, and it is the dynasty that suffers therefrom.

Injustice should not be understood to imply only the confiscation of money or other property from the owners, without compensation and without cause. It is commonly understood in that way, but it is something more general than that. Whoever takes someone's property, or uses him

for forced labor, or presses an unjustified claim against him, or imposes upon him a duty not required by the religious law, does an injustice to that particular person. People who collect unjustified taxes commit an injustice. Those who infringe upon property (rights) commit an injustice. Those who take away property commit an injustice. Those who deny people their rights commit an injustice. Those who, in general, take property by force, commit an injustice. It is the dynasty that suffers from all these acts, in as much as civilization, which is the substance of the dynasty,[677a] is ruined when people have lost all incentive. II, *97*

It should be known that this is what the Lawgiver (Muḥammad) actually had in mind when he forbade injustice. He meant the resulting destruction and ruin of civilization, which ultimately permits the eradication of the human species. This is what the religious law quite generally and wisely aims at in emphasizing five things as necessary: the preservation of (1) the religion, (2) the soul (life), (3) the intellect, (4) progeny, and (5) property.

Since, as we have seen, injustice calls for the eradication of the (human) species by leading to the ruin of civilization, it contains in itself a good reason for being prohibited. Consequently, it is important that it be forbidden. There is ample evidence for that in the Qur'ân and the Sunnah. It is much too ample to have it accurately or fully presented here.

If injustice were to be committed by every individual, the list of deterring punishments that would then have been given for it (in the religious law) would be as large as that given for the other (crimes) which lead to the destruction of the human species and which everybody is capable of committing, such as adultery, murder, and drunkenness. However, injustice can be committed only by persons who cannot be touched, only by persons who have power and authority. Therefore, injustice has been very much censured, and re-

[677a] Cf. n. *676a*, above.

peated threats against it have been expressed in the hope that perhaps the persons who are able to commit injustice will find a restraining influence in themselves.

"Your Lord does not do injustice to His servants." [678]

It should not be objected that punishment for highway robbery is provided for in the religious law,[679] and that (highway robbery) is an injustice that can be committed only by someone who has the ability to commit it, in as much as the highway robber, when he commits the robbery, must have the ability to do it. The reply to that would be twofold:

First, it may be said that the punishment laid down for (highway robbery) is for crimes against life or property that (the highway robber) commits. This is an opinion held by many. The (punishment applies) only after one has gained power over him and brought him to account for his crime.[680]

II, *98* Highway robbery itself has no fixed legal punishment.

Second, it may be said that the highway robber cannot be described as having the ability (to commit injustice), because we understand by ability to commit injustice that the person has a free hand and there is no rival power, which means that he has (a power to) bring about (complete) ruin. The ability of the highway robber is merely an ability to cause fear. (This fear) then enables the highway robber to take away the property of others. Everyone may defend himself against it, according to both the religious and the political law. It is not, then, an ability that could bring about (complete) ruin.

God has power to do what He wishes.

One of the greatest injustices and one which contributes most to the destruction of civilization is the unjustified im-

[678] Qur'ân 41.46 (46). Cf. also Qur'ân 3.182 (178); 8.51 (53); 22.10 (10); 50.29 (28).

[679] Cf., for instance, Ibn Abî Zayd, *Risâlah*, ed. L. Bercher (3d ed.), pp. 250 ff.

[680] Ergo, it cannot be said that the highway robber still has the special ability to commit his crime, at the time the punishment becomes applicable.

position of tasks and the use of the subjects for forced labor. This is so because labor belongs to the things that constitute capital, as we shall explain in the chapter on sustenance.[681] Gain and sustenance represent the value realized from labor among civilized people. All their efforts and all their labors are (means) for them (to acquire) capital and (to make a) profit. They have no other way to make a profit except (through labor). Subjects employed in cultural enterprises gain their livelihood and profit from such activities. Now, if they are obliged to work outside their own field and are used for forced labor unrelated to their (ordinary ways of) making a living, they no longer have any profit and are thus deprived of the price of their labor, which is their capital (asset). They suffer, and a good deal of their livelihood is gone, or even all of it. If this occurs repeatedly, all incentive to cultural enterprise is destroyed, and they cease utterly to make an effort. This leads to the destruction and ruin of civilization.

"God gives sustenance to whomever He wishes to give it, without accounting." [682]

An injustice even greater and more destructive of civilization and the dynasty than (the one just mentioned) is the appropriation of people's property by buying their possessions as cheaply as possible and then reselling the merchandise to them at the highest possible prices by means of forced sales and purchases. Often, people have to accept (high) prices with the privilege of later payment. They console (themselves) for the loss they suffer (at the moment) with the hope that the market will fluctuate in favor of the merchandise that had been sold to them at such a high price, and that their loss will be canceled later on. But then, they are required to make payment at once, and they are forced to sell the merchandise at the lowest possible price. The loss involved in the two transactions affects their capital.[683] II, 99

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[681] Cf. pp. 311 ff., below.

[682] Qur'ân 2.212 (208); 3.37 (32); 24.38 (38).

[683] Cf. also p. 94, above.

This (situation) affects all kinds of merchants, those resident in town and those who import merchandise from elsewhere. (It also affects) the peddlers and shopkeepers who deal in food and fruit, as well as the craftsmen who deal in the instruments and implements that are in general use. The loss affects all professions and classes quite generally. This goes on from hour to hour.[684] It causes (all) capital funds to dwindle. The only possibility that remains is for the merchants to go out of business, because their capital is gone, as it can no longer be restored by the profits. Merchants who come from elsewhere for the purchase and sale of merchandise are slow to come, because of that situation. Business declines, and the subjects lose their livelihood, which, generally, comes from trading. Therefore, if no (trading) is being done in the markets, they have no livelihood, and the tax revenue of the ruler decreases or deteriorates, since, in the middle (period) of a dynasty and later on, most of the tax revenue comes from customs duties on commerce, as we have stated before.[685] This leads to the dissolution of the dynasty and the decay of urban civilization. The disintegration comes about
II, *100* gradually and imperceptibly.

This happens whenever the ways and means of seizing property described above are used. On the other hand, if (the property) is taken outright and if the hostile acts are extended to affect the property, the wives, the lives, the skins,[685a] and the honor of people, it will lead to sudden disintegration and decay and the quick destruction of the dynasty. It will result in disturbances leading to complete destruction.

On account of these evil (consequences), all such (unfair activities) are prohibited by the religious law. The religious law legalizes the use of cunning in trading, but forbids depriving people of their property illegally. The purpose is to

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[684] *'Alâ s-sâ'ât*, as in Bulaq and MSS. A, B, and D. (C is supplied by a later hand in this section, indistinctly.) Paris has *'alâ l-bayâ'ât* "affects the trading."

[685] Cf. pp. 90 f., above, where it is said that in the later years of a dynasty, customs duties are levied. Cf. also pp. 97 ff., where it is said that only in the middle period of a dynasty are the ruler and his entourage wealthy.

[685a] This refers to corporal punishment, torture, and the like.

prevent such evil (consequences), which would lead to the destruction of civilization through disturbances or the lack of opportunity to make a living.

It should be known that all these (practices) are caused by the need for more money on the part of dynasty and ruler, because they have become accustomed to luxurious living. Their expenditures increase, and much spending is done. The ordinary income does not meet (the expenditures). Therefore, the ruler invents new sorts and kinds of taxes, in order to increase the revenues and to be able to balance the budget. But luxury continues to grow, and spending increases on account of it. The need for (appropriating) people's property becomes stronger and stronger. In this way, the authority of the dynasty shrinks until its influence is wiped out and its identity lost and it is defeated by an attacker.

God determines all affairs. There is no Lord except Him.

[42] *How it happens that access to the ruler becomes restricted* [686] *in the dynasty. (Such restriction) becomes important when the dynasty grows senile.*

It should be known that at the beginning, as we have mentioned before,[687] the dynasty is remote from royal aspi- II, *101*
rations. It needs group feeling through which its power and domination can materialize, and the desert attitude is characteristic of group feeling.

A dynasty based upon religion is remote from royal aspirations. In one based exclusively upon superior (political) power, the desert attitude, through which superiority is achieved, likewise is remote from royal aspirations and ways.

Now, if a dynasty at the beginning of its rule is a Bedouin one, the ruler possesses austerity and the desert attitude. He is close to the people and easily accessible. Then, when his power is firmly established, he comes to claim all the glory for himself. He needs to keep away from the people and to

[686] *Ḥijâb*, the verbal noun, not *ḥujjâb* "doorkeepers," or *ḥijâbah* "office of doorkeeper," though the same idea is meant. For the *ḥâjib* and his office, see pp. 14 ff., above. Here, the theoretical significance of the office is discussed.

[687] Cf., for instance, 1:*353*, above.

remain aloof with his friends, in order to be able to talk with them about his special (private) affairs, since his following has by then become large. Therefore, he seeks to keep away from the common people as much as possible. He employs someone at his door to admit (only) those of his friends and of the people of the dynasty whom he cannot avoid, and to prevent people (in general) from having access to him. (That person) is stationed at the (ruler's) door to exercise his function.

Then, when royal authority flourishes and royal ways and aspirations make their appearance, the ruler adopts royal character qualities. They are strange, peculiar qualities. They must be carefully handled in the proper way by those who are in contact with them. Persons in contact with (rulers) often do not know about these qualities and may do something that (rulers) do not like. He may become displeased with them and get into the mood of punishing them. Thus, knowledge of manners to be used in intercourse with (rulers) became the sole property of their special friends. (The rulers) kept all except their intimates from meeting them at all times, so as to protect themselves against noticing anything that might displease them and in order to protect the people
II, *102* against exposing themselves to punishment. Thus, (rulers) introduced another entrance restriction even more selective than the first. (The first) concerns special friends of the ruler and prevents everyone else's admission. The second restriction concerns the meetings with those friends (of the rulers), and prevents admission of everyone else from among the common people.

The first entrance restriction is in existence at the beginning of a dynasty, as we have said. It originated in the days of Mu'âwiyah and 'Abd-al-Malik and the Umayyad caliphs. The person in charge of entrance restrictions was called by them "doorkeeper" (*ḥâjib*), a word properly derived from the same root (as the word "entrance restriction").

Then, the 'Abbâsid dynasty made its appearance. Its famous luxury and power came into being, and the royal

qualities reached their proper perfection in it. This called for the second entrance restriction. The name of "doorkeeper" (*ḥâjib*) was restricted to it. The court of the caliphs contained two buildings to house their retinue, one for the special group and another for the common people. This is stated in 'Abbâsid history.

In the later dynasties, a third entrance restriction came into being. It was even more selective than the two previous ones. This occurred at the period when the attempt was made to seclude the ruler. It resulted from the fact that the first step taken by the men of the dynasty and intimates of the ruler who set up the young princes and attempted to gain control over them, was to keep the inner circle and the special friends of (the young ruler's) father away from him. The person who attempted to gain control over the young ruler suggested to him that it would diminish respect for him and would destroy the rules of etiquette if these men were to be in contact with him. His purpose was to keep the young ruler from meeting anybody else and see to it that he would become so used to him that he would not want to replace him with anybody else until he securely dominated him. An entrance restriction such as (the third) was obviously required under these circumstances. As a rule, it comes into existence only in the later (years) of a dynasty, as we have mentioned before in connection with the seclusion of the ruler.[688] It indicates the senility and decline of the dynasty. It is one of the things that the members of dynasties are afraid of. Those who support the dynasty will naturally attempt such a thing when the dynasty reaches senility and later-born members of the ruling family lose control. Human beings love very much to gain control over royal authority,[689] especially when the soil is prepared and all the requirements and symptoms are there. II, *103*

"God has the power to execute His commands." [690]

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[688] Cf. 1:377 f., above.

[689] Cf. 1:313, above.

[690] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).

[43] *The division of one dynasty into two.*

It should be known that the first (perceptible) consequence of a dynasty's senility is that it splits. This is because, when royal authority comes into its own and achieves the utmost luxury and prosperity and when the ruler controls all the glory and has it all for himself, he is too proud to let anyone share in it. As far as possible, he eliminates all claims in this direction by destroying those of his relatives who are possible candidates for his position and whom he suspects.

Those who participate with the ruler in this (activity) often have fears for their own (safety) and take refuge in remote parts of the realm. People who are in the same situation as they of running a risk [691] and becoming suspect, join them there and gather around them. (At that time,) the authority of the dynasty has already begun to shrink and to withdraw from the remote parts of the realm. Thus, the refugee who is related (to the dynasty) gains control there. His power grows continually, while the authority of the dynasty shrinks.
II, *104* Eventually he becomes, or almost becomes, an equal partner in the dynasty.

This may be observed in the Arab Muslim dynasty. Its power was great and concentrated, its authority far-flung, and the group feeling of the Banû 'Abd-Manâf was one and supreme over all the Muḍar. Therefore, no dissension made itself felt over the whole period of (the Arab Muslim dynasty), except for the disturbances caused by the Khârijites, who were willing to die for their heresy. That (however) had nothing to do with royal authority and (political) leadership, and they were not successful, because they were up against a strong group feeling. Then, the Umayyads lost control, and the 'Abbâsids took over. The Arab dynasty had, by then, achieved the utmost superiority and luxury, and

[691] Possibly *ightirâr*, to be connected with *gharar* "risk." *I'tizâz*, as in A, "showing their strength, being arrogant," is perhaps not impossible. D reads *i'tirâf*. One might also think of *ightirâb* "being exiled."

was beginning to shrink. (At that time,) 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân I ad-Dâkhil took refuge in Spain, the most remote region of the Muslim dynasty. He founded a realm there and severed it from the 'Abbâsid cause. Thus, he made two dynasties out of one. Then, Idrîs took refuge in the Maghrib and seceded and seized power there. His son and successor commanded the Awrabah, the Maghîlah, and the Zanâtah Berbers, and took possession of both the Maghribs (Morocco and Algeria).

Later on, the 'Abbâsid dynasty shrank more and more. The Aghlabids were stirred up to resist (the 'Abbâsids). Then, the Shî'ah (the 'Ubaydid-Fâṭimids) seceded. The Kutâmah and the Ṣinhâjah supported them, and they took possession of Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib, and then conquered Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijâz. They defeated the Idrîsids and divided the ('Abbâsid) dynasty into two more, so that the Arab ('Abbâsid) dynasty now consisted of three (independent) dynasties: the 'Abbâsids at the center and base of the Arab world and at the source of Islam; the Umayyads, who had renewed their old royal authority and caliphate of the East in Spain; and the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids) in Ifrîqiyah, Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijâz. These dynasties continued to exist until their destruction was imminent or complete. II, *105*

In the same way, the 'Abbâsid dynasty also split into other dynasties. There were the Ḥamdânids and their successors, the Banû 'Uqayl, in the Jazîrah and Mosul. There were the Ṭûlûnids and their successors, the Banû Ṭughsh (Ikhshîdids), in Egypt and Syria. In the remote (East), there were the Sâmânids in Transoxania and Khurâsân, and the 'Alawids (Zaydîs) among the Daylam and in Ṭabaristân. This, finally, led to Daylam domination of Fârs and the two 'Irâqs, including Baghdad and the caliphs. Then, there came the Saljûqs. They took possession of all that (area). Later on, their dynasty, too, split after having flourished, as is known from their history.

The same thing may also be observed of the Ṣinhâjah dynasty in the Maghrib and Ifrîqiyah. When it reached its

zenith in the days of Bâdîs b. al-Manṣûr,[692] Bâdîs' uncle Ḥammâd revolted against him and cut off the Maghrib provinces between Mount Awrâs and Tlemcen and the Moulouya (Malwîyah River) and took them for himself. He founded al-Qal'ah [693] in the Mountain of the Kutâmah near Msila (al-Masîlah). He settled there and took possession of their center Ashîr on Mount Tîṭṭerî. He thus founded another realm split off from that of the family of Bâdîs. The family of Bâdîs remained in al-Qayrawân and environs. This remained this way, until the power of both of them was completely destroyed.

The same was the case with the Almohad dynasty. When the shadow it cast began to shrink, the Ḥafṣids revolted in Ifrîqiyah. They made themselves independent there and founded their own realm for their descendants in that region. Their power flourished and reached the limit, but then, one of their descendants, the amir Abû Zakarîyâ' Yaḥyâ, the son
II, *106* of Sultan Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm, the fourth Ḥafṣid caliph, seceded in the western provinces and founded a new realm in Bougie and Constantine and environs. He passed it on to his children. (Abû Zakarîyâ' and his children) thus split the dynasty in two. Then (his children) took possession of the capital in Tunis. Later on the realm was again divided, among their descendants, and then they regained full power.

The process of splitting may lead to the formation of more than two or three dynasties that are not controlled by members of the (original) ruling family. This was the case with the *reyes de taïfas* in Spain and with the non-Arab rulers in the East. It also was the case in the Ṣinhâjah (Zîrid) realm in Ifrîqiyah. In the later (years) of the Ṣinhâjah dynasty, every castle in Ifrîqiyah was in the possession of an independent rebel, as we shall mention.[694] The same was the case

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[692] He died fighting Ḥammâd in 406 [1016].

[693] Cf. n. 6 to this chapter, above.

[694] Cf. p. 305, below, and *'Ibar*, VI, 163 ff.; de Slane (tr.), II, 29 ff. Bulaq has: "as we have mentioned," which might have been said in connection with the following example; see the next note.

with the Jarîd and the Zâb in Ifrîqiyah shortly before the present time, as we shall also mention.[695]

This is the case with every dynasty. Inevitably, luxury, ease, and a decrease in the extent of its power cause it to be affected by the symptoms of senility. Then, members of the ruling family or people of the dynasty who have gained control divide it among themselves, and numerous dynasties come into existence where (there had been one).

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

[44] *Once senility has come upon a dynasty, it cannot be made to disappear.*

We have already cited the symptoms and causes of senility, one by one.[696] We have explained that it is natural for the causes of senility to affect the dynasty. All of them are natural in (a dynasty). If, then, senility is something natural in (the life of) the dynasty, it must come about in the same way natural things come about, exactly as senility affects the temper of living beings. Senility is a chronic disease that cannot be cured or made to disappear because it is something natural, and natural things do not change. II, *107*

Many a politically conscious person among the people of the dynasty becomes alert to it and notices the symptoms and causes of senility that have affected his dynasty. He considers it possible to make that senility disappear. Therefore, he takes it upon himself to repair the dynasty and relieve its temper of senility. He supposes that (senility) resulted from shortcomings or negligence on the part of former people of the dynasty. This is not so. These things are natural to the dynasty. Customs (that have developed in the dynasty) prevent him from repairing it. Customs are like a second nature. A person who, for instance, has seen his father and the older members of his family wear silk and brocade and use gold

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[695] Ibn Khaldûn apparently refers to the period preceding the Ḥafṣid restoration under Abû l-'Abbâs, mentioned above, p. 93. Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 387, 392 ff.; de Slane (tr.), III, 91, 124 ff. But cf. also p. 304, below.

[696] Cf. 1:339 ff., above.

ornaments for weapons and mounts and be inaccessible to the people in their salons and at prayer, will not be able to diverge from the customs of his forebears in this respect. He will not be able to use coarse dress and apparel and mingle with the people. Custom would prevent him (from doing that) and expose him if he were to do it. Were he to do it, he would be accused of craziness and insanity for his brusque disregard of custom. There is the danger that it would have bad consequences for his government.

One might contrast (this with) the disregard for custom and opposition to it shown by the prophets. However, the prophets had divine support and celestial help.

Group feeling has often disappeared (at the time the dynasty grows senile), and pomp has taken the place it occupied in the souls of men. Now, when in addition to the weakening of group feeling, pomp, too, is discontinued, the subjects grow audacious vis-à-vis the dynasty, because the presumption of pomp remains.[697] Therefore, the dynasty shields itself by holding on to pomp as much as possible, until everything is finished.

At the end of a dynasty, there often also appears some (show of) power that gives the impression that the senility
II, *108* of the dynasty has been made to disappear. It lights up brilliantly just before it is extinguished, like a burning wick the flame of which leaps up brilliantly a moment before it goes out, giving the impression it is just starting to burn, when in fact it is going out.

This should be considered, and one should not disregard the wise planning that God employs in having His creation follow its course toward the destiny He has determined for it. "Each term has a book." [698]

[45] *How disintegration befalls dynasties.*

It should be known that any royal authority must be built upon two foundations. The first is might and group

[697] This is the reading of MSS. A, B, C, and D. However, Bulaq and E have *bi-dhahâb* "is gone," which seems better, even if Ibn Khaldûn corrected it later on.

[698] Qur'ân 13.38 (38).

feeling, which finds its expression in soldiers. The second is money, which supports the soldiers and provides the whole structure needed by royal authority. Disintegration befalls the dynasty at these two foundations.

We shall mention first the disintegration that comes about through might and group feeling, and then, we shall come back and discuss the one that comes about through money and taxation.

It should be known that, as we have stated, the dynasty can be founded and established only with the help of group feeling.[699] There must be a major group feeling uniting all the group feelings subordinate to it. This (major group feeling) is the family and tribal group feeling peculiar to the ruler.

When the natural luxury of royal authority makes its appearance in the dynasty, and when the people who share in the group feeling of the dynasty are humiliated, the first to be humiliated are the members of the ruler's family and his relatives who share with him in the royal name. They are much more humiliated than anyone else. Moreover, luxury has a greater hold on them than on anyone else, because they have a share in royal authority, power, and superiority. Thus, two agents of destruction surround them, luxury and force. (The use of) force eventually leads to their II, *109*
being killed. They become sick at heart [700] when they see the ruler firmly established in royal authority. His envy of them then changes to fear for his royal authority. Therefore, he starts to kill and humiliate them and to deprive them of the prosperity and luxury to which they had become in large measure accustomed. They perish, and become few in number.[701] The group feeling that the ruler had through them is destroyed. (That group feeling) was the major group feeling, which united all the other groups and subordinated them to itself. It dissolves and its grip weakens. Its place is taken by the inner circle of clients and followers who enjoy the

[699] Cf. 1:284 f., above.

[700] That is, they become unreliable and rebellious.

[701] *Sic* Bulaq, C, and D. B has a meaningless *w-y-t-l-w-n*.

favors and benefactions of the ruler. A (new) group feeling is derived from them. However, (this new group feeling) does not have anything like the powerful grip (of the other group feeling), because it lacks direct and close blood relationships. We have mentioned before that the importance and strength of a group feeling results from close and direct blood relationships,[702] because God made it that way.

The ruler thus isolates himself from his family and helpers, those who have natural affection (for him). This (in turn) is sensed by the people of other groups. Very naturally, they become audacious vis-à-vis the ruler and his inner circle. Therefore, the ruler destroys them and persecutes and kills them, one after the other. The later people of the dynasty follow the tradition of the former in that respect. In addition, they are exposed to the detrimental effect of luxury that we have mentioned before. Thus, destruction comes upon them through luxury and through being killed. Eventually, they no longer have the coloring of (their) group feeling. They forget the affection and strength that (used to) go with it. They become hirelings for the military protection (of the dynasty). They thus become few in number. As a consequence, the militia settled in the remote and frontier regions becomes numerically weak. This, then, emboldens the subjects in the remote regions to abandon the cause (of the dynasty) there. Rebels who are members of the ruling
II, *110* family and other (types of rebels) go out to these remote regions. They hope that under these circumstances, they will be able to reach their goal by obtaining a following among the inhabitants of the remote regions of the realm. (They hope that) they will be secure from capture by the (government) militia. This (process) keeps on and the authority of the ruling dynasty continues gradually to shrink until the rebels reach places extremely close to the center of the dynasty. The dynasty then often splits into two or three dynasties, depending on its original strength, as we

[702] Cf., however, 1:264 f., above.

have stated.[703] People who do not share in the group feeling of (the dynasty) take charge of its affairs, though they obey the people who do share in the group feeling of (the dynasty) and accept their acknowledged superiority.

This may be exemplified by the Arab Muslim dynasty. At the beginning it reached as far as Spain, India, and China. The Umayyads had complete control of all the Arabs through the group feeling of 'Abd-Manâf. It was even possible for Sulaymân b. 'Abd-al-Malik in Damascus to order the killing of 'Abd-al-'Azîz b. Mûsâ b. Nuṣayr in Córdoba. He was killed, and (Sulaymân's) order was not disobeyed.[704] Then, luxury came to the Umayyads, and their group feeling was wiped out. (The Umayyads) were destroyed, and the 'Abbâsids made their appearance. They curbed[705] the Hâshimites. They killed all the 'Alids (descendants of Abû Ṭâlib) and exiled them. In consequence, the group feeling of 'Abd-Manâf dissolved and was wiped out. The Arabs grew audacious vis-à-vis (the 'Abbâsids). People in the remote regions of the realm, such as the Aghlabids in Ifrîqiyah and the inhabitants of Spain and others, gained control over them, and the dynasty split. Then, the Idrîsids seceded in the Maghrib. The Berbers supported them, in obedience to their group feeling. Also, they were secure from capture by the soldiers or militiamen of the dynasty.

Men with a cause, for which they make propaganda, eventually secede. They gain control over border areas and remote regions. There, they are able to make propaganda for their cause and achieve royal authority. As a result, the dynasty splits. As the dynasty shrinks more and more, this process often continues until the center is reached. The inner circle, thereafter, weakens, because luxury undermines it. It perishes and dissolves. The whole divided dynasty weakens. II, *111*

[703] Cf. pp. 114 ff., above.

[704] This happened in 97 [716]. Cf. Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil*, V, 10.

[705] Lit., "lowered the reins," a phrase which is explained to mean gentling a horse. Cf. *Lisân al-'Arab*, IX, 62, l. 1; Lane, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 2264*a*. Here Ibn Khaldûn was apparently thinking of his theory that a dynasty tends to repress the members of its own family.

Occasionally, it lingers on long after that. (The dynasty) can dispense with group feeling now, because it has colored the souls of its subject people with the habit of subservience and submission for so many long years that no one alive can think back to its beginning and origin. They cannot think of anything except being submissive to the ruler. Therefore, he can dispense with group strength. In order to establish his power, hired soldiers and mercenaries are sufficient. The submissiveness generally found in the human soul helps in this respect. Should anyone think of disobedience or secession—which hardly ever happens—the great mass would disapprove of him and oppose him. Thus, he would not be able to attempt such a thing, even if he should try very hard. In this situation, the dynasty is often more secure (than ever), as far as rebels and rivals are concerned, because the coloring of submissiveness and subservience is firmly established. Individuals would scarcely admit to themselves the least thought of opposition, and the idea of straying from obedience would not enter anybody's mind. (The dynasty,) therefore, is safer (than ever) so far as the trouble and destruction that comes from groups and tribes are concerned. The dynasty may continue in this condition, but its substance dwindles, like natural heat in a body that lacks nourishment. Eventually, (the dynasty) reaches its destined time. "Each term has a book,"[706] and each dynasty has an end. God determines night and day.[707]

II, *112* As for the disintegration that comes through money, it should be known that at the beginning the dynasty has a desert attitude, as was mentioned before.[708] It has the qualities of kindness to subjects, planned moderation in expenditures, and respect for other people's property. It avoids onerous taxation and the display of cunning or shrewdness in the collection of money and the accounting (required) from officials. Nothing at this time calls for extravagant expendi-

[706] Qur'ân 13.38 (38).
[707] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).
[708] Cf., for instance, 1:344, and p. 89, above.

tures. Therefore, the dynasty does not need much money.

Later comes domination and expansion. Royal authority flourishes. This calls for luxury. (Luxury) causes increased spending. The expenditures of the ruler, and of the people of the dynasty in general, grow. This (tendency) spreads to the urban population. It calls for increases in soldiers' allowances and in the salaries of the people of the dynasty.[709] Extravagant expenditures mount. It spreads to the subjects, because people follow the religion (ways) and customs of the dynasty.[710]

The ruler, then, must impose duties on articles sold in the markets, in order to improve his revenues. (He does so,) because he sees the luxury of the urban population testifying to their prosperity, and because he needs the money for the expenditures of his government and the salaries of his soldiers. Habits of luxury, then, further increase. The customs duties no longer pay for them. The dynasty, by this time, is flourishing in its power and its forceful hold over the subjects under its control. Its hand reaches out to seize some of the property of the subjects, either through customs duties, or through commercial transactions, or, in some cases, merely by hostile acts directed against (property holdings), on some pretext or even with none.

At this stage, the soldiers have already grown bold against the dynasty, because it has become weak and senile as far as its group feeling is concerned. (The dynasty) expects that from them, and attempts to remedy and smooth over the situation through generous allowances and much spending for (the soldiers). It cannot get around that. II, *113*

At this stage, the tax collectors in the dynasty have acquired much wealth, because vast revenues are in their hands and their position has widened in importance for this reason. Suspicions of having appropriated tax money, therefore, attach to them. It becomes common for one tax collector to denounce another, because of their mutual jealousy and envy. One after another is deprived of his money by confiscation

[709] Bulaq adds: "Luxury then grows more and more."

[710] Cf. 1:58, 300, above, and p. 306, below.

and torture.[711] Eventually, their wealth is gone, and they are ruined. The dynasty loses the pomp and magnificence it had possessed through them.

After their prosperity is destroyed, the dynasty goes farther afield and approaches its other wealthy subjects. At this stage, feebleness has already afflicted its (former) might. (The dynasty) has become too weak to retain its power and forceful hold. The policy of the ruler, at this time, is to handle matters diplomatically by spending money. He considers this more advantageous than the sword, which is of little use. His need for money grows beyond what is needed for expenditures and soldiers' salaries. He never gets enough. Senility affects the dynasty more and more. The people of (other) regions grow bold against it.

At each of these stages, the strength of the dynasty crumbles. Eventually, it reaches complete ruin. It is open to domination by (any) aggressor. Anyone who wants to attack it can take it away from those who support it. If this does not occur, it will continue to dwindle and finally disappear [712]—like the wick of a lamp when the oil is exhausted, and it goes out.

God owns all things and governs the whole creation. There is no God but Him.

II, *114* [46] *The authority of the dynasty at first expands to its limit and then is narrowed down in successive stages, until the dynasty dissolves and disappears.*[713]

Above, in the third (chapter) of this *Muqqadimah*,[714] in the chapter on the caliphate and royal authority, we stated

[711] For *nakbah* and its synonym *muṣâdarah*, cf. 1:368 (n. 156), above.

[712] Cf. 1:346, above.

[713] This section is found only in D. C has merely a sign in the text, indicating an intended addition. It may have been written on an inserted sheet, now lost. Ibn Khaldûn is almost certainly the author of this section, admittedly full of rather unusual words and usages not elsewhere found in the *Muqaddimah*. This, of course, is easily explained by the fact that the section is a later addition.

[714] Cf. 1:lxviii, above.

that each dynasty has its specific share of provinces and districts and no more.[715] (Its expansion) depends [716] on the distribution of the dynasty's group (strength) for the (military) protection of its territory and regions. Wherever its numbers go, their advance (eventually) comes to a stop at (what is called) the "border region." This surrounds the dynasty on all sides like a belt. Its farthest extension may coincide with the original "belt" of authority of the (preceding) dynasty. (Or) it may be still wider, if the numerical (strength) of the (new) group is greater than that of the preceding dynasty.

All this takes place while the dynasty has the characteristics of desert life and rude courage.

Subsequently, power and superiority come into their own. Bounties and salaries become abundant as a result of improved revenues. Luxury and sedentary culture abound. New generations grow up accustomed to this situation. (At this time,) the character of the militia softens, and they lose their toughness. This makes them cowards and lazy fellows. They are caught up in the effeminacy [717] of sedentary culture. It causes them to shed the characteristics of courage and manliness. They give up the desert attitude and desert toughness and seek power through assiduous competition for leadership. This causes some of them to kill others. The ruler prevents them from doing that, by killing their great men and destroying their leaders. Thus, amirs and great men no longer exist, and the number of followers and subordinates grows. This blunts the sharp edges of the dynasty and de- II, *115*
creases its strength. The first element of disintegration afflicts the dynasty, that which comes through the soldiers and militia, as has been mentioned.[718]

This is paralleled by extravagance in expenditures. (The people of the dynasty) suffer from the pomp of power and

[715] Cf. 1:327 ff., above. [716] D: *wa-ti'bâr.*

[717] D: *khanath.*

[718] In the preceding section to which he refers, Ibn Khaldûn merely alludes to the facts mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, pp. 118 f., above.

limitless ostentation as they compete with each other in matters of food, clothing, large palaces, good weapons, and the horses in their stables.[719] At this time, the income of the dynasty is too small to pay for such expenditures, and thus the second element of disintegration afflicts the dynasty, that which comes through money and taxation. Weakness and destruction are the results of these two elements of disintegration.

The leaders of (the dynasty) often compete with each other. They quarrel, and are too weak to stand up and defend themselves against rivals and neighbors. The people of the border and remote regions often sense the weakness of the dynasty at their backs, and they show their strength. They eventually gain independent control over the districts in their possession. The ruler is too weak to force them back on the (right) path. Thus, the authority of the dynasty becomes narrower than it had been at the beginning. The administration of (the dynasty) [720] restricts itself to a smaller area. Eventually, the same weakness, laziness with regard to group strength, and the shortage of money and revenue that had come about in the first, larger, area also comes about in the second, smaller, area.

The [721] person in charge of the dynasty now undertakes to change the norms the dynasty had adopted as its policy with regard to soldiers, money, and administrative functions.[722] The purpose is to have norms suitable for balancing the budget, satisfying the militia, safeguarding the administrative districts, distributing the tax revenue for the (soldiers') salaries in the proper manner, and readjusting (the new conditions) to those that had existed at the beginning of
II, *116* the dynasty. However, evil happenings can still be expected from every quarter.

At this later stage, what had happened before in the first

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[719] Cf. 1:338 and 348, above.
[720] D: *tadbîrihâ*.
[721] Cf. Issawi, p. 126.
[722] For *wilâyât*, cf. p. 5 (n. 445), above.

stage happens again. The ruler now considers the same (measures) that the first ruler had considered, and applies the old yardstick to the new conditions of the dynasty. He intends to repel the evil consequences of disintegration,[723] which reappears at every stage and affects every part of the realm until the area of the dynasty is again narrower than it had been (before), and what had happened before happens again.

Each of the persons who changes the previous norms (of the dynasty) is in a way the builder of a new dynasty and the founder of a new realm. However, the dynasty is eventually destroyed. The nations around it push on to gain superiority over it. They then found a new dynasty of their own. And thus befalls what God has destined to befall.

This may be exemplified by the Muslim dynasty. Through its conquests and victories over (foreign) nations, its authority expanded. Its militia then increased, and the numerical (strength of the militia) grew as the result of the bounties and salaries granted to (the soldiers). Eventually, the power of the Umayyads was destroyed. The 'Abbâsids gained the upper hand. Luxury, then, increased. Sedentary culture emerged, and disintegration made its appearance. The creation of the Marwânid (Umayyad Spanish) and 'Alid (Idrîsid) dynasties cut down the authority of the 'Abbâsids in Spain and the Maghrib. These two border regions were cut off from ('Abbâsid) authority.

Then, dissension arose among the sons of ar-Rashîd. 'Alid propagandists appeared in every region, and ('Alid) dynasties were founded. Then, after the death of al-Mutawakkil, the amirs gained control over the caliphs and kept them in seclusion. Provincial governors in the outlying regions became independent, and the land tax from there did not come in any longer. Luxury (however) still increased. Al-Mu'taḍid appeared. He changed the norms of the dynasty and adopted another policy.[724] He gave the outlying regions, II, *117*

[723] D has a wrong *al-ḥâl*, instead of *al-khalal*.

[724] D: *ilâ ma'thûr âkhar*.

over which the governors had won control, to them as fiefs. Thus, for instance, the Sâmânids (were given) Transoxania, the Ṭâhirids the 'Irâq and Khurâsân, the Ṣaffârids Western India (Sind) and Fârs, the Ṭûlûnids Egypt, and the Aghlabids Ifrîqiyah. Then, the power of the Arabs was broken up. The non-Arabs achieved superiority. The Bûyids and the Daylam gained control of the Muslim dynasty. They kept the caliphs in seclusion. The Sâmânids remained in control of Transoxania. The Fâṭimids [725] pushed out of the Maghrib into Egypt and Syria and gained possession of (those countries). Then arose the dynasty of the Saljûq Turks. The Saljûqs gained domination over the Muslim empire. They kept the caliphs in seclusion, until their dynasties were destroyed. From the time of an-Nâṣir [726] on, the caliphs were in control of an area smaller than the ring around the moon, namely, the Arab 'Irâq up to Iṣfahân, Fârs, and al-Baḥrayn. For some (time), the dynasty continued in that manner, until the power of the caliphs was destroyed by Hûlâgû b. Ṭûlî b. Dûshî Khân, the ruler of the Tatars and Mongols. They defeated the Saljûqs and took possession of the part of the Muslim empire that had been theirs.

Thus, the authority of the dynasty (at each stage) becomes successively narrower than it had been at the beginning. (This process) continues, stage by stage, until the dynasty is destroyed. (The fact) can be exemplified by examination of any dynasty, large or small. This is how God proceeds with dynasties, until the dissolution destined by Him comes upon His creatures. "Everything perishes except His face (person)." [727]

II, *118* [47] *How a new dynasty originates.*

It should be known that when the ruling dynasty starts on the road to senility and destruction, the rise and beginning of the new dynasty takes place in two ways:

[725] Elsewhere in the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldûn consistently uses 'Ubaydids.

[726] The 'Abbâsid who reigned from 1180 to 1225.

[727] Qur'ân 28.88 (88).

(The one way is) for provincial governors in the dynasty to gain control over remote regions when (the dynasty) loses its influence there. Each one of them founds a new dynasty for his people and a realm to be perpetuated in his family. His children or clients inherit it from him. Gradually, they have a flourishing realm. They often compete bitterly with each other and aspire to gain sole possession of it. The one who is stronger than his rival will gain the upper hand and take away what the other had.

This happened in the 'Abbâsid dynasty when it started on the road to senility and its shadow receded from the remote regions. The Sâmânids gained control over Transoxania, the Ḥamdânids over Mosul and Syria, and the Ṭûlûnids over Egypt. The same thing happened in the Umayyad dynasty in Spain. Their realm was divided among the *reyes de taïfas* who had been their provincial governors. It was divided into several dynasties with several rulers, who passed their realms on after their death to their relatives or clients. This way of forming a new dynasty avoids the possibility of war between the (new rulers) and the ruling dynasty. (These new rulers) are already firmly established in their leadership and do not want to gain domination over the ruling dynasty. The latter is affected by senility, and its shadow recedes from the remote regions of the realm and can no (longer) reach them.

The other way is for some rebel from among the neighboring nations and tribes to revolt against the dynasty. He either makes propaganda for some particular cause to which he intends to win the people, as we have indicated,[728] or he II, *119*
possesses great power and a great group feeling among his people. His power is already flourishing among them, and now he aspires with the help of (his people) to gain royal authority. (His people) are convinced that they will obtain it, because they feel that they are superior to the ruling dynasty, which is affected by senility. Thus, to (the rebel) and

[728] Cf. p. 121, above.

his people, it is a fact that they will gain domination over it. They constantly attack it, until they defeat it and inherit its power.

This was the case with the Saljûqs in relation to the descendants of Sebuktigîn, and with the Merinids in the Maghrib in relation to the Almohads.

"God has the power to execute His commands." [729]

[48] *A new dynasty gains domination over the ruling dynasty through perseverance, and not through sudden action.*

We have (just) mentioned that new dynasties originate in two ways. The one way (is for them to originate) with the governors of outlying regions when the shadow of the ruling dynasty recedes from those regions and its waves are rolled back. As a rule, such (governors) do not attack the (ruling) dynasty, as we have mentioned before, because all they have to do is to be satisfied with what they already have. That is as far as their power goes. The other way is that of men who make propaganda for some cause and of rebels who rebel against the (ruling) dynasty. It is inevitable that they attack (the ruling dynasty), because their power warrants such (a course). They (revolt) only when they have a family with sufficient group feeling and strength to give them success. Indecisive battles take place between them and the ruling dynasty. (Such battles) are repeated and continued (all the time), until by perseverance they achieve domination and victory. As a rule, they do not gain victory through sudden action.

II, *120* The reason for this is that victory in war, as we have mentioned before,[730] as a rule is the result of imaginary psychological factors. Numbers, weapons, and proper tactics may guarantee (victory). However, as has been mentioned above, (all these things) are less effective than the imaginary (psycological) factors, as has been mentioned above. Trickery is

[729] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).

[730] Cf. pp. 85 ff., above.

one of the most useful things employed in warfare. It is the thing most likely to bring victory. A tradition says: "War is trickery." [731]

Accepted custom has made obedience to the ruling dynasty a necessity and an obligation, as has been mentioned before in more than one place.[732] This puts many hindrances in the way of the founder of a new dynasty. It discourages his followers and supporters. His closest intimates may be fully intent upon obeying him and helping him. Still, others are more numerous, who are affected by weakness and laziness under the influence of the belief that they owe submission to the ruling dynasty. Their zeal slackens. Therefore, the founder of a new dynasty is hardly able to make a stand against the ruler of the ruling dynasty. Consequently, he falls back on patience and perseverance, until the senility of the ruling dynasty has become obvious. Then his people lose the belief that they owe submission to the ruling dynasty. They become sufficiently spirited to make an open attack upon the ruling dynasty in concert with (the founder of the new dynasty). Victory and domination are the result.

Furthermore, the ruling dynasty has many luxuries. The royal authority of (the people of the ruling dynasty) had been firmly established. They had enjoyed prosperity and pleasures. To the exclusion of others, they had appropriated a good deal of the revenues from taxes. Thus, they have many horses in their stables and good weapons. There is much royal pomp among them. Gifts from their rulers, given either voluntarily or under constraint, have been showered upon them.[733] With all this, they frighten their enemies.

The people of the new dynasty do not have (such things). II, *121*
They have the desert attitude and are poor and indigent. This leaves them unprepared for such (things). What they hear about the conditions and excellent state of preparedness of the ruling dynasty makes them apprehensive. They are

[731] Cf. p. 86, above.
[732] Cf., for instance, p. 122, above.
[733] Cf. Bombaci, p. 449.

afraid to do battle against (the ruling dynasty) on account of it. Therefore, their leader is forced to wait until senility takes hold of the ruling dynasty and its group feeling and fisc(al structure) are disintegrating. Then, the founder of the new dynasty seizes the opportunity to gain the upper hand, quite some time after his attack (had begun). This is how God proceeds with His servants.

The men of the new dynasty differ from the men of the ruling dynasty with regard to descent, customs, and all other things. The (persistent) attacks and their desire to gain the upper hand estrange the men of the new dynasty more and more from the men of the ruling dynasty. Consequently, the people of the two dynasties become thoroughly estranged from each other, inwardly and outwardly. No information about the men of the ruling dynasty, either secretly or openly, reaches the men of the new dynasty, such as might enable them to find some unpreparedness among them, because all connection and intercourse between the two dynasties has been cut off. They thus continue to exert pressure,[734] (but) they are in a state of fear and shy away from sudden action.

Eventually, God permits the ruling dynasty to end, its life to stop, and disintegration to afflict it from all sides. The senility and decay of (the ruling dynasty), which had been concealed from the people of the new dynasty, now become clear to them. (In the meantime,) their strength has grown, because they had cut off and taken away districts and outlying regions from (the ruling dynasty). Thus, they become
II, *122* spirited enough (to attempt) sudden action. The apprehensions that had hitherto weakened their resolution disappear. The long wait comes to an end, and sudden action finally brings domination.

This may be exemplified by the emergence and beginnings of the 'Abbâsid dynasty. The ('Abbâsid) Shî'ah remained in Khurâsân for ten years or more after the ('Ab-

[734] Ibn Khaldûn has *al-muṭâlabah*, but perhaps he had intended to write *al-muṭâwalah* "to wait. . . ." The same reading may also be appropriate in the third line of this paragraph.

bâsid) propaganda had consolidated and (the 'Abbâsids) had gathered for attack. Then, their victory materialized, and they gained the upper hand over the Umayyads.

The same was the case with the 'Alids (Zaydîs) in Ṭabaristân at the time their propaganda appeared among the Daylam. They had to wait a long time before they gained domination over that region. The 'Alid rule then ended, and the Daylam aspired to rule over Fârs and the two 'Irâqs. They waited (patiently) for many years, until they were able to cut off Iṣfahân and Fârs (and take it for themselves). Then, they gained domination over the caliph in Baghdad.

The same was the case with the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids). Their missionary in the Maghrib, Abû 'Abdallâh ash-Shî'î,[735] stayed for more than ten years among the Kutâmah Berbers waiting to gain victory over the Aghlabids in Ifrîqiyah. (The 'Ubaydid-Fâṭimids) then took possession of the Maghrib, and, later on, aspired to become rulers of Egypt. They spent about thirty years waiting for their chance, constantly sending armies and fleets against Egypt. Support for Egypt's defense against (the 'Ubaydid-Fâṭimids) came from Baghdad and Syria, by land and by sea. They took possession of Alexandria, the Fayyûm, and Upper Egypt. Their propaganda progressed from there to the Ḥijâz and found a home in Mecca and Medina. Then, their general, Jawhar al-Kâtib,[736] moved against the (capital) city of Egypt with his armies and took possession of it. He uprooted the dynasty of the Banû Ṭughsh (Ikhshîdids) and founded Cairo. His caliph, Ma'add al-Mu'izz-li-dîn-Allâh, came to (Cairo) and chose it as his residence. This was about sixty years after II, *123* the ('Ubaydid-Fâṭimids) had (for the first time) gained domination over Alexandria.

The same was the case with the Saljûq Turk rulers. They gained the upper hand over the Sâmânids and went beyond Transoxania, but then they had to spend about thirty years waiting to gain the upper hand over the (dynasty of) Ibn

[735] Cf. 1:41, above.
[736] Cf. also 1:360, above.

Sebuktigîn in Khurâsân.[737] After some time, they advanced against Baghdad and took possession of it and of the caliph there.

The same was the case with the Tatars who succeeded the Saljûqs. They came out of the steppe in 617 [1220/21], but it took them forty years thereafter to gain domination.

The same was also the case with the inhabitants of the Maghrib. The Lamtûnah Almoravids declared themselves against their Maghrâwah rulers. They waited for years to gain the upper hand over them. Then, the Almohads came forth with their propaganda against the Lamtûnah. They spent about thirty years fighting them, until they gained domination over their capital in Marrakech. The same was the case with the Zanâtah Merinids. They declared themselves against the Almohads and spent about thirty years waiting to gain possession of Fez. They cut off (Fez) and environs from the Almohad realm. Then, they spent another thirty years fighting (the Almohads) until they gained domination over their capital in Marrakech. All this is mentioned in the histories of these dynasties.

A struggle of this sort, marked by (constant) attacks and long perseverance, is characteristic of the relationship between new and ruling dynasties. This is how God proceeds with his servants. "And verily, you will not be able to change God's way." [738]

The events of the Muslim conquests cannot be used as an argument against (the preceding remarks). (The Muslims) gained the upper hand over the Persians and the Byzantines in the three or four years that followed the death of the Prophet, and there was no long waiting period. It should be realized that this was one of the miracles of our Prophet.

II, *124* The secret of it lay in the willingness of the Muslims to die in the holy war against their enemies because of their feeling that they had the right religious insight,[739] and in the cor-

[737] The decisive event was the defeat of Mas'ûd I, the son of Maḥmûd of Ghaznah, by the Saljûqs in 431 [1040].

[738] Qur'ân 33.62 (62); 35.43 (41); 48.23 (23).

[739] *Istibṣâran bi-l-îmân*. Cf. 1:321 (n. 21), above.

responding [740] fear and defeatism that God put into the hearts of their enemies. All these (miraculous facts) broke through the known custom of a long wait (governing the relationship) between new and ruling dynasties. Thus, (the rapid conquest) was one of the miracles of our Prophet. The fact of the appearance of (such miracles) in Islam is generally acknowledged. Miracles cannot be used as analogies for ordinary affairs and constitute no argument against (them).

[49] *There is an abundant civilization (large population) at the end of dynasties, and pestilences and famines frequently occur then.*

In the previous (discussion) [741] it has been established that, at the beginning, dynasties are inevitably kind in the exercise of their power and just in their administration. The reason is either their religion, when (the dynasty) is based upon religious propaganda, or their noble and benevolent attitude toward others, which is required by the desert attitude that is natural to dynasties (at the beginning).

A [742] kind and benevolent rule serves as an incentive to the subjects and gives them energy for cultural activities. (Civilization) will be abundant, and procreation will be vigorous. All this takes place gradually. The effects will become noticeable after one or two generations at best. At the end of two generations, the dynasty approaches the limit of its natural life.[743] At that time, civilization has reached the limit of its abundance and growth.

It should not be objected here that it was stated before [744] that in the later (years) of a dynasty, there will be coercion of the subjects and bad government. This is correct, but it does not contradict what we have (just) said. Even though coercion makes its appearance at that time and the revenues

II, *125*

[740] The words *kifâ' dhâlika* did not yet appear in the early text of Bulaq and E, though they are found in A, B, C, and D.

[741] Cf. pp. 89 and 122, above.

[742] Cf. Issawi, pp. 96 f.

[743] Cf. 1:343 ff., above.

[744] Cf. p. 123, above.

decrease, the destructive influences of this situation on civilization will become noticeable only after some time, because things in nature all have a gradual development.

In the later (years) of dynasties, famines and pestilences become numerous. As far as famines are concerned, the reason is that most people at that time refrain from cultivating the soil. For, in the later (years) of dynasties, there occur attacks on property and tax revenue and, through customs duties, on trading.[745] Or, trouble occurs as the result of the unrest of the subjects and the great number of rebels (who are provoked) by the senility of the dynasty to rebel. Therefore, as a rule, little grain is stored. The grain and harvest situation is not always good and stable from year to year. The amount of rainfall in the world differs by nature. The rainfall may be strong or weak, little or much. Grain, fruits, and (the amount of) milk given by animals varies correspondingly. Still, for their food requirements, people put their trust in what it is possible to store. If nothing is stored, people must expect famines. The price of grain rises. Indigent people are unable to buy any and perish. If for some years nothing is stored, hunger will be general.

The large number of pestilences has its reason in the large number of famines just mentioned. Or, it has its reason in the many disturbances that result from the disintegration of the dynasty. There is much unrest and bloodshed, and plagues occur. The principal reason for the latter is the corruption of the air (climate) through (too) large a civilization (population).[746] It results from the putrefaction and the many evil moistures with which (the air) has contact (in a dense civilization). Now, air nourishes the animal spirit [747] and is
II, *126* constantly with it. When it is corrupted, corruption affects the temper of (the spirit). If the corruption is strong, the

[745] The reference to customs duties is added in the margin of C and taken over into the text of D.

[746] But cf. p. 245, below, where the commotion within a large population is said to keep the air circulating and, thus, to prevent putrefaction. Cf. also p. 376, below.

[747] Cf. I:74 (n. 5), above.

lung is afflicted with disease. This results in epidemics, which affect the lung in particular. (Even) if the corruption is not strong or great, putrefaction grows and multiplies under (its influence), resulting in many fevers that affect the tempers, and the bodies become sick and perish. The reason for the growth of putrefaction and evil moistures is invariably a dense and abundant civilization such as exists in the later (years) of a dynasty. (Such civilization) is the result of the good government, the kindness, the safety, and the light taxation that existed at the beginning of the dynasty. This is obvious. Therefore, it has been clarified by science [748] in the proper place that it is necessary to have empty spaces and waste regions interspersed between civilized areas. This makes circulation of the air possible. It removes the corruption and putrefaction affecting the air after contact with living beings, and brings healthy air. This also is the reason why pestilences occur much more frequently in densely settled cities than elsewhere, as, for instance, in Cairo in the East and Fez in the Maghrib.

God determines whatever He wishes.

[50] *Human civilization requires political leadership for its organization.*

We have mentioned before in more than one place that human social organization is something necessary. It is the thing that is meant by "the civilization" which we have been discussing. (People) in any social organization must have someone who exercises a restraining influence and rules them and to whom recourse may be had. His rule over them is sometimes based upon a divinely revealed religious law. They are obliged to submit to it in view of their belief in II, *127*
reward and punishment in the other world, (things that were indicated) by the person who brought them (their religious law). Sometimes, (his rule is based) upon rational politics. People are obliged to submit to it in view of the reward

[748] Lit., "philosophy."

they expect from the ruler after he has become acquainted with what is good for them.

The first (type of rule) is useful for this world and for the other world, because the lawgiver knows the ultimate interest of the people and is concerned with the salvation of man in the other world. The second (type of rule) is useful only for this world.[749]

We do not mean here that which is known as "political utopianism" (*siyâsah madanîyah*).[750] By that, the philosophers mean the disposition of soul and character which each member of a social organization must have, if, eventually, people are completely to dispense with rulers. They call the social organization that fulfills these requirements the "ideal city." The norms observed in this connection are called "political utopias" (*siyâsah madanîyah*). They do not mean the kind of politics (*siyâsah*) that the members of a social organization are led to adopt through laws for the common interest. That is something different. The "ideal city" (of the philosophers) is something rare and remote. They discuss it as a hypothesis.

Now, the afore-mentioned rational politics may be of two types. The first type of rational politics may concern itself with the (public) interest in general, and with the ruler's interest in connection with the administration of his realm, in particular. This was the politics of the Persians. It is something related to philosophy. God made this type of politics superfluous for us in Islam at the time of the caliphate. The religious laws take its place in connection with both general and special interests, for they also include the maxims (of the philosophers) and the rules of royal authority.

The second type (of rational politics) is the one con-

[749] Cf. 1:385 ff., above.

[750] Cf. the well-known works by al-Fârâbî, *Der Musterstaat*, ed. and tr. F. Dieterici (Leiden, 1895–1900), and by Ibn Bâjjah (Avempace), *El régimen del solitario*, ed. and tr. M. Asín Palacios (Madrid & Granada, 1946). Cf. also D. M. Dunlop, "Al-Fârâbî's Aphorisms of the Statesman," in *Iraq*, XIV (1952), 93–117. In connection with Ibn Khaldûn, a recent article by E. I. J. Rosenthal, "The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, XV (1953), 246–78, is illuminating.

cerned with the interest of the ruler and how he can maintain his rule through the forceful use of power. The general (public) interest is, here, secondary. This is the type of politics practiced by all rulers, whether they are Muslims or unbelievers. Muslim rulers, however, practice this type of politics in accordance with the requirements of the Muslim religious law, as much as they are able to. Therefore, the political norms here are a mixture of religious laws and ethical rules, norms that are natural in social organization together with a certain necessary concern for strength and group feeling. Examples to be followed in (the practice of) this (kind of politics) are, in the first place, the religious law, and then, the maxims of the philosophers and the way of life of rulers (of the past). II, *128*

The best and most comprehensive written exposition of this subject is the letter of Ṭâhir b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Ma'mûn's general, to his son 'Abdallâh b. Ṭâhir when (al-Ma'mûn) appointed him governor of ar-Raqqah, Egypt, and the intervening territories. On that occasion, his father Ṭâhir wrote him the famous letter. In it, he exhorted him and gave him his advice concerning all religious and ethical matters. (He discussed) all (important) political problems as handled by the religious law and all problems of power politics that he would have to know in his government and administration. He urged him to strive for virtue and good qualities, in a manner so exemplary that no king or commoner can do without (these exhortations). This is the text of the letter, as copied from aṭ-Ṭabarî's work: [751]

[751] The composition of this document must have fallen into the year 205/6 [821], according to G. Richter, *Zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, N.F. 3) (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 80 ff.

The oldest available text is found in the ninth-century *History of Baghdad* by Ibn Abî Ṭâhir Ṭayfûr. Cf. H. Keller (ed. and tr.), *Sechster Band des Kitâb Baġdâd* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 36–53 (text); pp. 17–25 (tr.); cf. also *idem*, *Das Kitâb Baġdâd* (Bern diss.) (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 38 ff. However, Ibn Khaldûn certainly was not acquainted with Ibn Abî Ṭâhir's work.

The text is further to be found in aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, III, 1046–61, whose source was apparently Ibn Abî Ṭâhir, and in Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil*, VI, 149–55, *anno* 206. The latter's source was aṭ-Ṭabarî.

There are more than the usual number of divergencies between the ver-

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

And now: It is your duty to fear the one and only God, to be afraid of Him, to watch Him, to keep away from His wrath, and to guard your subjects night and day. With the help of the good health with which God has clothed you, apply yourself to thinking of your resurrection and the place where you will be going, as well as to the things that will be your concern and for which you will be held responsible. Also, apply yourself to working in that sense in such a way that on the Day of Resurrec-
II, *129* tion, God will protect you and save you from His retribution and painful punishment.

God has been benevolent to you. He has made it obligatory for you to show kindness to those of His servants whom He has made your subjects. He has made it your duty to be just to them, to see to it that His rights and punishments are observed in connection with them, to defend them and protect their families and women, to prevent bloodshed, to make their roads [752] safe, and to

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sions of this document given in the earlier and later texts of the *Muqaddimah*. If this seems strange, since Ibn Khaldûn was dealing with a quotation, the explanation is not difficult to find. Originally, he used Ibn al-Athîr's text, and revised this later with the help of aṭ-Ṭabarî's. He also added a few conjectures of his own as to the correct text.

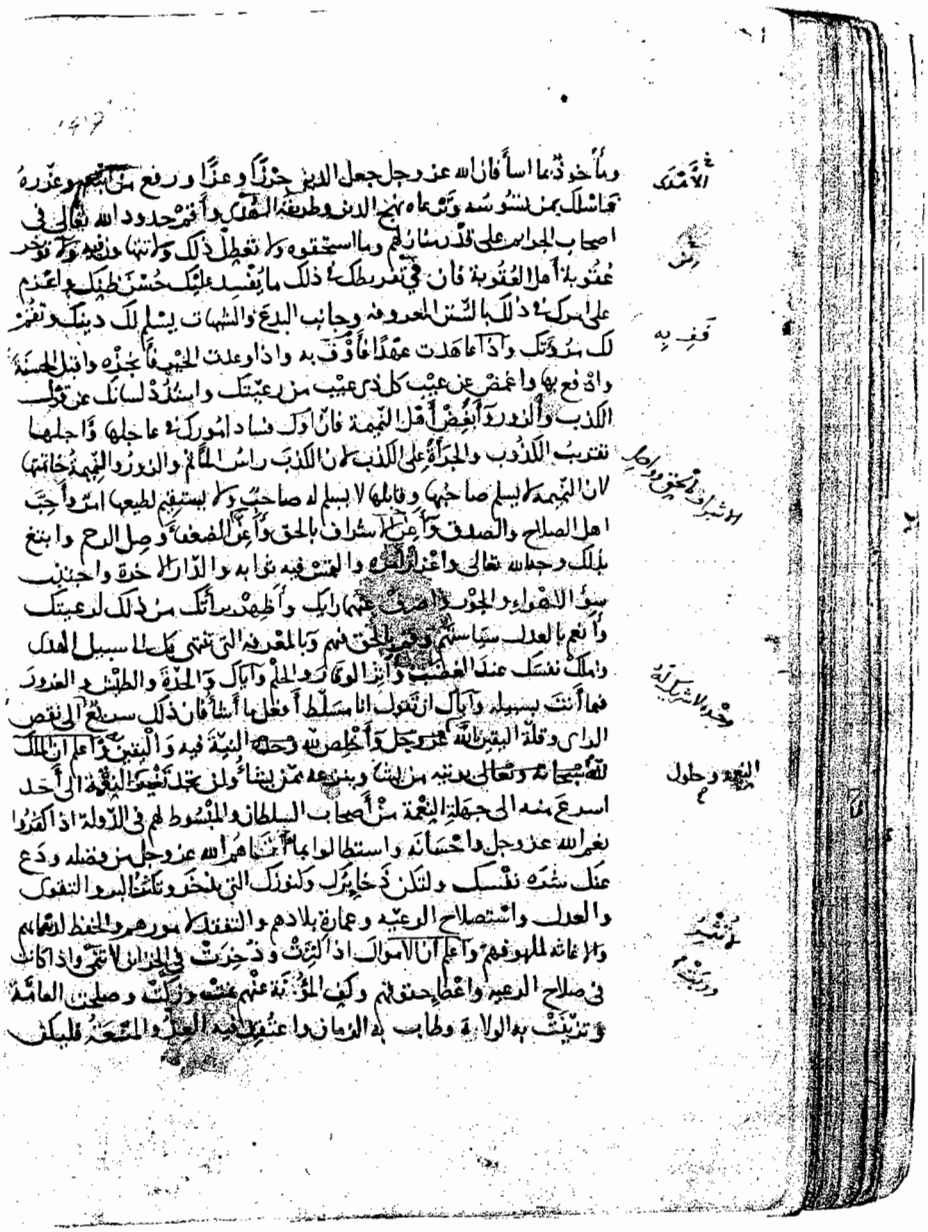
The introductory statement that the text was copied from aṭ-Ṭabarî is not found in Bulaq or E. C, which has the earlier version and all later corrections in the margin, shows that the reference to aṭ-Ṭabarî was inserted into the text by a later hand, apparently the same person who added all the other additions and corrections.

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldûn breaks off his quotation at the same place as Ibn al-Athîr, while aṭ-Ṭabarî goes on for a few more lines. These lines did not seem very important and were for that reason not added when Ibn Khaldûn checked his first version against the text of aṭ-Ṭabarî. There are some passages, noted below, where Ibn Khaldûn left the original wording as he had first copied it from Ibn al-Athîr, not bothering to correct all the minor details in accordance with aṭ-Ṭabarî.

One or two cases of correction by Ibn Khaldûn are found in the margin of C, marked *ẓ* (for *ẓann*, or *ẓâhir* "conjecture"). They entered the text of the *Muqaddimah* through the other MSS. The following notes mention only the more important of these variant readings.

[752] Ibn Khaldûn read *li-salabihim*, which he apparently understood to mean: "to make them safe against being plundered." However, the correct reading *li-subulihim* had to be used for the translation.

لتدخر ابتك تمرين الاموال في عمارة الاسلام وأهله وتوثيقه على أوليا امير
المومنين فتلك حقوقهم وأوف من ذلك حصصهم وتعهد ما يصلح أمورهم
ومعاشهم فانك اذا فعلت قويت النعمة لك واستوجبت المزيد من الله عز وجل
وكنت بذلك على جباية خراجك وجمع أموال رعيتك وعمالك أقدر وكان
الجمع لما سألهم من عدلك واحسانك اسكن لطاعتك واطيب لنفسك بكل ما اودعت
فاجهد نفسك فيما جددت لك في هذا الباب وليعظم تحفلك فيه فانما بقي من المال
ما اتقن سبيله وعرف المكاسب من المآثم واثم عليه واياك ان تنسيك الدنيا
وعيدها هول المرجع وتبعتها ودنا يحق عليك فان النهاية وراء ما يبور فيه التفريط والتفر
يوبك البوار ولكن عملك لله عز وجل وفيه وارج الثواب فان الله سبحانه قد
اسبغ عليك نعمته وأظهر لديك دعته فاعتصم بالشكر عليه فاعتقد بذلك الله
خيرا واحسانا فان الله عز وجل يثيب بمثل الشاكرين ويسبغ المحسنين ولا تحقرن
ذنبا ولا تمالين خاسئا ولا تحقرن فاجرا ولا تصلن كذوبا ولا تداهنن عدوا ولا
تصدقن نماما ولا تامنن غدارا ولا توالين فاسقا ولا تبعثن غاويا ولا تجدن
مرايبا ولا تحقرن انسانا ولا تعدن سابقا قبيحا ولا تحسبن باطلا ولا تلاحظن
مضحكا ولا تحالفن مرءا ولا تنهين خدما ولا تظهرن غضبا ولا تاتين بابا ولا
تسبن مسخا ولا تركبن سفها ولا تسرعن الى طلب الدنيا الا حثه ولا تدفع الامام
عتبا ولا تغضن عن ظالم رهبة منه او محاباة ولا تظلمن تواب الآخرة والدنيا
وأكثر مشاورة الفقهاء واستعمل نفسك بالحلم وتخلق عن أهل التجارب وذوي العقل والرا
والحكمة ولا تتخلفن عن مشورتك أهل الدراية والعمل ولا تستعرفهم قولا فان ذلك من
الكذب نفعهم وليس يسرع شيء شيئا كما استنبطت فيه امر رعيتك من النجح واعلم
انك اذا كنت حريصا كنت كثير الخطل قليل العطية واذا كنت كذلك يستفزك
أدنى قليلا فان رعيتك انما تعتد على محبتك بالكف عن أموالهم وتوثق
الجور عليهم وولي من صنائعك من واليك بالإفضال عليهم وحسن العطية لهم
فاجتنب الشح واعلم انه اول ما عصي الانسان ربه وان العاصي مدخول لخزي
وهو قول الله عز وجل ومن يوق شح نفسه فاولئك هم المفلحون واجعل



xt showing corrections From MS. C (Atif Effendi 1936)

enable them to live in peace. God will punish you in connection with the duties He has placed upon you (if you do not take care of them properly). He will make them your concern and hold you responsible for them and reward you for (the good deeds) you have done or (the evil deeds you have) not done.

Keep your mind, brain, and eye free for that. Let nothing draw your attention from it. It is your principal and crucial task. It is the first thing through which God will give you successful guidance. Let the first thing to which you apply yourself and on which you work, be unfailing fulfillment of the duty of the five daily prayers that God has imposed upon you. Let people come to you to pray together with you, and perform (the prayers at the proper times) [753] with all their rites. (That is,) perform the ablutions before the prayers. Begin the prayers with the mention of God. Use the proper chant when you recite the Qur'ân. Perform the requisite bows and prostrations and pronounce your profession of the faith properly. Let your intention in prayer be sincere in the presence of your Lord. Urge and instigate those who are with you and under your control to (perform the prayers). Prayer, as God said in the Qur'ân, "restrains from sin and evil." [754]

Then, let this be followed by adopting the ways of the Messenger of God, by constant application of his qualities, and by imitation of the pious ancient Muslims after him. If you have a task before you, let yourself be helped in doing it by asking God whether you should do it or not, by fearing Him, by applying what God has revealed in His Book with regard to things to be done II, 130
and things not to be done, the things that are permitted and the things that are forbidden, and by taking as your guide the directions contained in the traditions of the

[753] Again, this is the original text. Ibn Khaldûn's early reading was *wa-tawâqu'uhâ*. In C and D we find *wa-tawaqqu'uhâ*. Both forms would yield only a rather artificial meaning.

[754] Qur'ân 29.45 (44).

Messenger of God. Act, then, as you owe it to God to act.

Do not be swayed from justice according to your likes and dislikes, either on behalf of a person close to you or on behalf of one remote from you. Favor jurisprudence and the jurists, the religion (Islam) and theologians, the Book of God and those who live by it. For the best ornament of a man is judicial interpretation of the faith, search for it, admonition to others to follow it, and knowledge of how one can get close to God. Religion (Islam) is the leader and guide to everything that is good. It commands the doing of good and prohibits the committing of sins and crimes. Through (religion), man's knowledge of God and respect for Him grows with God's help, and he will attain the highest rank in the other world. In addition, when people notice your (religious attitude) they will have respect for your rule and reverence for your government. They will be friendly to you and trust in your justice.

Be moderate in everything. There is nothing more clearly useful, safer, and in every way better, than (moderation). Planned moderation calls for right guidance. Right guidance leads to success. Success leads to happiness. The preservation of Islam and of the model ways (of the Prophet) is accomplished through moderation. Give preference to it in all your worldly affairs.

Do not fall behind in your pursuit of the other world,[755] of good deeds, of kind behavior, of the right path. One cannot do enough pious deeds, if they are to help one to find God's face and satisfaction and the company of God's saints in His noble abode.

You should know that planned moderation in worldly matters gives strength and protects against sins. You have nothing that is better than (moderation) to guard

[755] Bulaq and E, as well as Ibn al-Athîr, add: "for reward." The word, which aṭ-Ṭabarî does not have, is deleted in C and no longer found in A, B, or D.

your person and your rank [756] and to try to improve your affairs. Therefore, use it and be guided by it. Then, your affairs will succeed. Your power will increase. Your private and public affairs will be in order. II, *131*

Have a good opinion of God, and your subjects will cause you no trouble. In all your affairs, try to get in touch with Him, and you will always enjoy His favor.

Do not suspect anyone who works for you with regard to the work with which you have entrusted him, before you have discovered what is the matter with him. For it is a crime to suspect innocent persons and to have a bad opinion of them. Therefore, make it your duty to have a good opinion of the men around you. Drive away bad opinions of them, and do not harbor any such opinions. That will help you to gain their following and to train them. Do not let Satan, the enemy of God, gain entry to your affairs. Just a little weakness on your part is sufficient for him. He will cause you so much grief through your having a bad opinion of the men around you, that it will disturb the pleasure of your life. You should know that having a good opinion (of others) gives you strength and rest, and you will be competent to handle your affairs to your satisfaction. It will enable you to cause people to love you and to be straightforward in everything.

Do not let your good opinion of the men around you and your kindness to your subjects prevent you from making inquiries, from investigating your affairs, from taking personal charge of the business of (your) officials, from protecting (your) subjects, or from looking [757] after the things that sustain and benefit them. On the contrary, consider it your most important task to take personal

[756] Instead of "and your rank," aṭ-Ṭabarî and Ibn al-Athîr read: "and those close to you." The same words seem to be at the base of the corrupt text in Bulaq and E.

[757] The following thirty-odd words (down to "looking") were originally left out of Ibn Khaldûn's text, by homoeoteleutic omission. They were supplied in the margin of C and are found in A, B, and D.

charge of the affairs of (your) officials and to protect your subjects by looking after their needs and providing for their requirements. This, more than anything else, helps to preserve the religion (of Islam) and gives life to the Sunnah (of the Prophet).

In all these things, have pure intentions. Pay special attention to improving yourself as a person, one who realizes that he will be held responsible for his deeds,
II, *132* that he will be rewarded for his good deeds, and punished for his evil deeds. For God made the religion a refuge and a power. He lifts up those who follow it and honor it.

Therefore, lead those whom you govern and rule along the path of religion and the way of right guidance.[758] Apply the punishments that God has ordained for criminals, according to their station and according to what they deserve. Do not disregard it and do not make light of it. Do not postpone the punishment of those who must be punished. If you fall short in this respect, it will help spoil the good opinion (people have) of you. In this regard, let your actions be guided by the well-known traditions (*sunan*). Keep away from innovations and doubts. Your religion will then be healthy and your manliness unimpaired.

If you enter into an agreement, fulfill it. If you have promised to do a certain good deed, keep your (promise). Accept favors and repay them. Close your eyes to the defects of those of your subjects who may have them. Refrain from lies and falsehoods. Despise (liars and keep) [759] away calumniators. Your affairs will begin to fail, so far as their effects both in this world and the other world are concerned, as soon as you give access to a liar or boldly use lies yourself. Lying is the beginning of crimes and falsehood, and calumny their end. The calum-

[758] Like aṭ-Ṭabarî and Ibn al-Athîr, C and D have *al-hudâ* in the text. C, however, notes in the margin that the "manuscript" (*kh*, for *nuskhah*) — may we suppose aṭ-Ṭabarî's, used for collation? — had *al-'hdy*. This is the reading found in the other MSS, as well as in Bulaq.

[759] The words in parenthesis are in aṭ-Ṭabarî and Ibn al-Athîr. They are necessary for the context.

niator is not safe himself. No friend of a man who listens to (calumny) is safe.[760] Nothing works out well for a person who is governed by (calumny).

Love good and righteous people. Be honestly helpful to noble men. Be friendly to the weak. Keep in touch with your blood relatives.[761] Desire thus to see the face of God and to strengthen His cause, and wish (thus) for His reward and the other world. Keep away from evil desires and injustice. Pay them no notice and show your subjects that you are free of (them). Be just in governing your subjects. Treat them honestly and with the kindness through which you will reach the path of right guidance.

Control yourself and do not get angry. Prefer dignity and mildness. Beware of sharpness, levity, and deceitfulness in any (enterprise) you engage in. II, *133*

Beware of saying: "I am in authority. I may do what I want to do." This soon reveals a lack of sense on your part and little certainty of the one and only God. Let your intention with regard to (God) and your certainty of Him be sincere. You should know that royal authority belongs to God. He gives it to whomever He wants to give it and takes it away from whomever He wants to take it away.[762]

The change from (divine) favor to (divine) vengeance occurs nowhere faster than with men in authority who do not acknowledge[763] (divine) favors, and with people enjoying good positions in the government, who are ungrateful for the favors and benefactions of God and consider themselves superior beings because of the bounty that God has given them.

Do not be greedy. Let the treasures and riches you gather and hoard up be piety, the fear of God, justice, the improvement of your subjects, the cultivation of their country, the supervision of their affairs, the protection of

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[760] The reading *wa-qâbiluhâ* is clearly indicated in C.

[761] Cf. n. 47 to Ch. II, above.

[762] Cf. Qur'ân 3.26 (25).

[763] Aṭ-Ṭabarî and Ibn al-Athîr have the original text: "who enjoy . . ."

the mass of them,[764] and support of the unfortunates. You [765] should know that property, once it is gathered and stored in treasuries, does not bear fruit, but if it is invested in the welfare of the subjects and used for giving them what is due to them and to prevent them from need, then it grows and thrives. The common people prosper. (The proper use of money) is an ornament to high officials, and it means a time of prosperity. It brings strength and protection. Therefore, let it be your way of gathering up treasures to spend money on building up Islam and the Muslims. Distribute to the officials of the Commander of the Faithful who preceded you [766] that which is due them. Give your subjects their share. Pay attention to the things that might improve their situation and livelihood. If you do that, the (divine) favor will always be with you. You will make it obligatory for God to increase (His favors to you). In this way, you will
II, *134* also be better able to levy the land tax and to collect the property of your subjects and your provinces. Because everybody experiences justice and kindness from you, everybody will be more amenable [767] to obeying you and more favorably disposed towards everything you want. Therefore, exert yourself in the way that I have outlined to you in this chapter. Be very much concerned [768] in this respect. Of (all) your money, there will remain only what was honestly spent in behalf of God.[769]

Acknowledge the gratefulness of those who express their thanks, and reward them for it.

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[764] *Li-dahmâ'ihim*, as all the witnesses of the text have.

[765] Cf. Issawi, pp. 89 f.

[766] *Qablaka* (and not *qibalaka*) seems to be the correct reading. The *awliyâ'* are officials (not "friends" or the like) who are no longer in office when the administration comes in.

[767] The original text is *aslas*. In the margin of C, the (unnecessary) correction to *askan* is suggested, and *askan* is the reading we find in A, B, and D.

[768] Almost the whole textual tradition of the *Muqaddimah* has a meaningless *ḥaqquka*. However, C has in the margin the apparently correct *khashyatuka* which is adopted by A. It also appears in the text of Ibn Abî Ṭâhir. The edition of aṭ-Ṭabarî reads *ḥisbatuka*.

[769] Remain useful, that is, in the other world.

Beware of forgetting the terror of the other world on account of this world and its temptations, so that you become neglectful of your duties. Neglect causes shortcomings, and shortcomings cause ruin. Whatever you do, you should do for God and in God, and hope for a reward. God has poured His favors upon you in this world and showed you His bounty. Therefore, take refuge in giving thanks to God. Rely upon Him, and He will give you more good things and benefactions. God gives His reward according to the gratefulness of those who express their thanks, and the way of life of those who do good deeds. He bestows His favors and shows His grace where they are deserved.[770]

Do not consider (any) sin lightly. Do not support an envious person. Do not pity a sinner. Do not be friendly with an ungrateful person. Do not connive with an enemy. Do not trust a calumniator. Do not rely upon a deceiver. Do not conclude a friendship with an immoral person. Do not follow a seducer. Do not praise a hypocrite. Have contempt for nobody. Do not refuse a poor petitioner. Do not (try to) improve a worthless person. Pay no attention to buffoons. Do not break a promise. Do not fear pride.[771] Show no anger. Do not be ostentatious. Do not walk arrogantly. Do not justify a stupidity.[772] Do not neglect your search for the other world. Do not waste your days in finding fault. Do not close your eyes to an evildoer, because you are afraid of him or because you have a prejudice (in his favor). Do not seek the reward of the other world in this world. II, *135*

Consult frequently with jurists. Accustom yourself to

[770] This sentence is not found in the earlier text, or in Ibn al-Athîr. It was added from aṭ-Ṭabarî in the margin of C, and is found in the text of A, B, and D.

[771] That is, of others. However, although *tarhabanna* is the unanimous reading of all texts, one might suggest tentatively the reading *tuzhiyanna* "do not be proud."

[772] *Safahan* is the reading in C and in aṭ-Ṭabarî. The other MSS have *safîhan* "a stupid person," and this seems also to have been the original reading in C.

being mild and prudent. Learn from men of experience and intelligence who are understanding and wise. Do not permit extravagant [773] or stingy people to give you advice. Do not listen to what they say, because the damage they can cause is greater than their usefulness. Nothing can ruin your projects on behalf of your subjects more quickly than avarice. You should realize that if you are greedy, you take much and give little. If you are this way, you will have little success, for your subjects will be willing to like you only if (you) keep away from their property and do not treat them unjustly. You will keep the sincere friendship of your friends [774] by being generous to them and giving them fine gifts. Shun avarice. You should know that avarice is the first sin that man commits against His Lord and that the sinner is disgraced. Thus, God says in the Qur'ân: "Those who are preserved from their own avarice are, indeed, generous." [775] Therefore, be really generous.[776] Give all the Muslims shares and portions in the booty you take. Be assured that generosity is one of the best things for a human being to practice. Make generosity one of your character qualities. [Be really generous.] Accept (generosity) as your constant practice.

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[773] Originally, Ibn Khaldûn had *diqqah* here, which in this context might perhaps mean "pedantic." *Ar-rafh* is a conjecture proposed in the margin of C and adopted in the texts of B and D.

[774] Ibn Khaldûn's original text read with Ibn al-Athîr: "Be obliging to your sincere friends . . ." C adds the above text from aṭ-Ṭabarî, in the margin. Apparently the marginal correction was overlooked in the text from which D was copied, because D still preserves the earlier text. B, on the other hand, follows the corrected text.

[775] Qur'ân 59.9 (9); 64.16 (16). "Avarice" and "stinginess" are represented by the same Arabic word in this paragraph.

[776] Lit., "Make the road of generosity smooth and level." The MSS. A, B, C, and D have *al-jawr*, instead of *al-jûd*, which could hardly mean anything but "Be really unjust."

The phrase is repeated a few lines below. This is explained by the fact that Ibn al-Athîr has it later on, whereas aṭ-Ṭabarî has it here. C adds it here, in the margin, but does not delete it at the later occurrence. In E it preserves its old position, but Bulaq, remarkably enough, has it here and omits it later on. The other MSS have it twice.

Supervise the registers and contracts of the soldiers. Augment their salaries. Give them a good livelihood, and God will thus remove their indigence. They will be a strong (support) for you, and their hearts will be readily and gladly willing to obey you and serve you. It is sufficient happiness for a man in authority that his soldiers II, *136* and subjects find mercy in his justice, protection, fairness, attentiveness, kindness, piety, and largesse. Therefore, avoid the unpleasantness of one of the two alternatives [777] by being conscious of the excellence of the other alternative and by always acting in accordance with it. Then, you will find success, well-being, and prosperity, if God wills.

You should know that the office of judge holds a place with God to which nothing else compares. It is God's scales in which the conditions of men on earth are equalized. Making decisions [778] and dispensing justice in judicial procedure and in all actions brings well-being to the subjects. The roads, then, are safe. The person who was treated unjustly finds justice. Everyone obtains his right. The livelihood of all is safeguarded. Proper obedience is paid. God gives good health and well-being. The religion can endure. The Sunnah and the religious laws function properly. Right and justice are applied in judicial procedure.[779]

(As a judge) be firm in behalf of God. Abstain from corruption.[780] Go and apply the legal punishments. Do not make haste. Stay away from anger and unrest. Be satisfied with an oath. Let your breath be calm and your

[777] E still has *iḥdâ l-balîyatayni* "of the two temptations (to be either too harsh or too mild)," as in aṭ-Ṭabarî. The corruption to *al-bâbayn*, which is easily understandable, appears in the other MSS and also in Bulaq.

[778] C and D apparently indicate the reading *al-faṣl*, and not *al-faḍl* "excellence, superiority." The word itself is not found in Bulaq or Ibn al-Athîr, and seems an addition derived from aṭ-Ṭabarî. The text and apparatus of the Ṭabarî edition is not quite clear in this passage.

[779] This sentence is not found in Bulaq, E, or Ibn al-Athîr. It was added in the margin of C from aṭ-Ṭabarî, and taken over by A, B, and D.

[780] *an-naṭaf*, as in the MSS.

cheek cool.[781] Make use of your experience. Be attentive when you are silent, and precise when you speak. Treat the plaintiff fairly. Hesitate when there is a doubt. Have much evidence produced. Do not show prejudice in favor of any of your subjects. Do not give anyone preferred treatment. Do not expose yourself to censure. Be steadfast and slow. Observe. Look out. Reflect. Think things over. Consider them. Be humble in the presence of your Lord. Be kind to all (your) subjects. Let the truth govern you. Do not shed blood hastily, for God considers the unlawful and violent shedding of blood as something very grave.

II, *137* Consider the land tax. It maintains the subjects. Through it, God has strengthened and exalted Islam, helped and protected the Muslims, confounded and annoyed the enemies of Islam and the Muslims, and humbled and humiliated the unbelievers who are their subjects.[782] Therefore, distribute (the land tax) among those to whom it belongs, and do it justly, fairly, equitably, and generally. Do not make a noble man (*sharîf*) pay less because of his nobility, or a rich man because of his wealth, or one of your secretaries, or one of your intimates and entourage. Do not ask for more than is tolerable. Do not charge anyone too much. Treat all the people justly. This makes it easier to gain their friendship and is more certain to achieve general satisfaction.

You should know that by your appointment, you were made treasurer, guardian, and shepherd. The people

[781] The same applies to this sentence as to the one above, n. 779. C clearly indicates that it should be inserted in this place. However, it was written so closely together with the earlier addition that the scribe of the archetype from which A and D were ultimately copied, thought that it belonged with it. Therefore, A and D have this sentence after "procedure," p. 149 (n. 779), above.

[782] Cf. n. 430 to this chapter, above. These are the Muslim subjects who have agreed to the covenant governing the status of Christians, Jews, and members of certain other religions.

under your jurisdiction are called subjects (*ra'îyah* "flock"), because you are their shepherd and overseer. (Therefore,) accept from them what they give you of their affluence, and use it for the administration of their affairs, for their welfare, and for providing for their needs. Employ for them understanding, skilled, and experienced men, who have theoretical knowledge of, and are able to act with, political wisdom and moderation. Give them good salaries. This is one of the duties incumbent upon you in connection with the task with which you have been entrusted. Let nothing divert your attention or distract you from it. When you give preference to this matter and take charge of it properly, you will cause an increase in the favors your Lord bestows upon you, and favorable comment on your activities. You will also gain through it the love of your subjects and promote the (general) welfare. The (general) well-being of your country will be improved. Cultural activity will expand in your region. The fertility of your districts will be evident. Your income from the land tax will be large. Your property will be extensive. You will have the attachment [783] of your soldiers and be able to satisfy everybody through generous gifts from you. Your political leadership will be praised. Your justice will be approved by the enemy. In all your affairs, you will be just, capable in deed, powerful, and well equipped.[784] Therefore, strive for this (goal). Do not give anything else preference over it. Then, the results of your rule will find praise, if God wills. II, *138*

Appoint a trusted (official) in every district under your jurisdiction, to inform you about your officials and to write you concerning their manner of life and activities.

[783] *Irtibâṭ*, as in aṭ-Ṭabarî and in Ibn Khaldûn's original text. The word was corrupted to a meaningless *irtiyâḍ*, for which C, in the margin, suggested the reading *irtiḍâ'* "satisfaction." This reading was accepted in A and B, while D still retained *irtiyâḍ*.

[784] *'Uddah*, as also in the margin of C.

Thus, you will have eventually something like personal contact with every official in his area of jurisdiction and personally observe all his affairs.

If you want to order (your official to do) something, consider what the result of the thing you want done will be. If you see that the result will be healthy and sound, and if you hope for a good return from it and good council [785] and benefit, send (your order) out. If not, refrain from (any immediate action) and consult people of insight and knowledge about (the matter). Then, prepare for action. A man often looks at something he wants to do and finds it to be as he desires. This pleases and deceives him. Failure to consider what the result may be, could be his ruin and destruction.

Whatever you want to do, do it resolutely and address yourself to it forcefully after (having asked) God's help. Always ask your Lord whether you should do a particular thing. Finish the work you have to do today and do not postpone it until tomorrow. Do much of it yourself. For every tomorrow has its own business and events that will keep you from doing the work you should have done today but postponed. You should know that when a day is gone, it is gone with all there was in it. If you postponed the work that you should have done (yesterday), you will have to do two days' work (today). That will be difficult for you and will eventually make you ill. (On the other hand,) if you do each day the work that you
II, *139* should do, you will give rest to your body and soul and discharge your tasks as ruler well.

Consider the free (noble) people who are advanced in age and of whose sincere intentions you can be certain, and whose love for you, whose helpfulness as advisers, whose active interest in your affairs you have observed. Select them for your service and be benevolent toward them.

[785] The word "council" is an addition from aṭ-Ṭabarî, found in A, B, C, and D.

Have regard for the descendants of great houses who have become needy. Provide for their requirements and improve their condition, so that indigence will no longer be able to touch them.

Devote yourself to looking after the affairs of the poor and indigent, those who are not able to bring before you complaints about injustices they have suffered,[786] and other lowly persons who do not know that they may ask for their rights. Inquire about these people in all secrecy, and put good men from among your subjects in charge of them. Command them to report to you their needs and conditions, so that you will be able to look into the measures through which God might improve their affairs.

Have regard also for people who have suffered accidents, and for their widows and orphans. Give them stipends from the treasury, following the example of the Commander of the Faithful—God give him power!—in being kind to them and giving them presents, so that God may thereby improve their livelihood and give you a blessing and increased (favors).

Give the blind stipends from the treasury. Give to those of them who know the Qur'ân and know most of it by heart a higher salary than to others.

Set up houses for Muslims who are ill, to shelter them. (Appoint) attendants in these houses who will handle them kindly, and (appoint) physicians who will treat their diseases. Comply with their desires so long as it does not lead to waste in the treasury.

You should know that when people are given their rights and when their dearest wishes are fulfilled, they are still not satisfied and are not quiet, but want to bring their needs to the attention of those in charge of them, because they desire to receive more and to get (additional) kindnesses from them. Often, the person who looks after the affairs of the people is annoyed by the

II, *140*

[786] *Maẓlamah* in most MSS, with the exception of C, where the word is corrected in the text to the original *maẓlamatihî.*

great number of matters referred to him, which occupy his thought and mind, and cause him embarrassment and difficulties.

The person who desires justice, knowing what is good for him in this world and how excellent the reward in the other world will be, is not like the person who advances [787] toward the things that bring him close to God and who seeks (God's) mercy.

Let people frequently come to see you and show them your face. Let not your guards hinder them. Be humble toward them. Show them your smiling countenance. Be lenient with them when (you put) questions and speak to them. Be benevolent to them in your generosity and bounty.

If you give, do it kindly and pleasantly. (Do it) for the sake of doing a good deed and of receiving the reward (for it in the other world). Do it without causing trouble, and do not remind (the person to whom you give something) of your gift (in the expectation of a gift in return). Such a gift will be a profitable transaction, if God wills.

Learn from the affairs of the world that you are able to observe personally, and from the persons in authority and in positions of leadership who lived before your time in past centuries and among nations that disappeared. Then, in all your conditions, seek God's protection and love, act in accordance with His religious law and Sunnah, and establish His religion and Scripture. Keep away from the things that are different from that, or in opposition to it, and that provoke the wrath of God.

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[787] *Ya'staqbilu*, as in A and C. B and D have *yastaqillu*. The text and translation of this sentence seem certain, though the intended contrast is not quite clear at first glance. In later Islam, at least, both persons would be considered ideal types. However, the contrast intended is between the judge or worldly ruler, who dispenses justice in the interest of both this-worldly and eternal well-being, and the pious person who devotes himself exclusively to divine worship. In the writer's opinion the former is the more meritorious person, with more duties to take care of, as described in the following sentences.

Be acquainted with the property that your officials collect and use for their expenditures. Do not take any forbidden property, and do not be a wasteful spender.

Sit down often with scholars and seek their advice and company.

Let it be your desire to follow and establish the Sunnah (of the Prophet) and to prefer noble and lofty character qualities.

Consider those the most honorable of your protégés and intimates who, when they notice a fault (in you), are not deterred by their respect for you from informing you about it in secret or from calling your attention to the shortcoming that lies in that fault. People of that sort are your most sincere friends and helpers. II, *141*

Look at those of your officials who are present at your residence, and at your secretaries. Appoint for each one of them a time of the day in which he may come to you with his documents and orders and (also present to you) the needs of your officials and the affairs of your districts and subjects with which he is concerned. Lend your ear and your eye, your mind and your intellect, to the things of that sort which he presents to you. Go over it again and think it over. If it is reasonable and appears effective, order it to be done and ask God about it. If not, have it checked and investigated.

Do not remind your subjects or anyone else to whom you show a favor, of it (in the expectation of a gift). Accept from no one anything except faithfulness, straightforwardness, and support for the affairs of the Muslims. Do not do any favors for anyone except under these (conditions).

Understand this letter of mine that I am addressing to you. Study it carefully and always act in accordance with it. Ask God for help in all your affairs. Ask Him whether or not you should do a thing. God is with goodness and with good people. Let your most important activity and greatest desire be what is pleasing to God

and means order in his religion, might and steadfastness in His people, and justice and welfare in the Muslim group and the protected religions. I am asking God to give you help and success and right guidance and shelter. Farewell!

The historians report that people liked the letter when it appeared, and it found wide circulation. Al-Ma'mûn heard about it. When it had been read to him, he said: "Abû ṭ-Ṭayyib—that is, Ṭâhir—did not omit any of the matters
II, *142* that concern this world, the religion, administration, (the formation of) opinion, politics, the improvement of the realm and the subjects, the preservation of the government, obedience to the caliphs, and maintenance of the caliphate. He has dealt very well with all these matters, and has given directions (how to handle) them." Al-Ma'mûn then ordered the letter to be sent to all officials in the various regions, so that they might use it as a model and act accordingly.

This is the best treatment of this type of politics that I have found. God inspires whomever of His servants He wants to inspire.

[51] *The Fâṭimid. The opinions of the people about him. The truth about the matter.*

It has been well known (and generally accepted) by all Muslims in every epoch, that at the end of time a man from the family (of the Prophet) will without fail make his appearance, one who will strengthen the religion and make justice triumph. The Muslims will follow him, and he will gain domination over the Muslim realm. He will be called the Mahdî. Following him, the Antichrist will appear, together with all the subsequent signs of the Hour (the Day of Judgment), as established in (the sound tradition of) the *Ṣaḥîḥ*. After (the Mahdî), 'Îsâ (Jesus) will descend and kill the Antichrist. Or, Jesus will descend together with the Mahdî, and help him kill (the Antichrist), and have him as the leader in his prayers.

Evidence for this matter has been found in the traditions

that religious leaders have published. They have been (critically) discussed by those who disapprove of (the matter), and have often been refuted by means of certain (other) traditions.[788]

The more recent Sufis have another theory and a sort of argument concerning the Fâṭimid. They like to base themselves upon the removal (of the veil, *kashf*), which is the basis of their various (mystical) paths.

We are now going to mention here the various traditions concerning (this matter). (We are also going to mention) the attacks upon these traditions by those who disapprove (of the matter), and the evidence upon which they base their disapproval. This, then, will be followed by a report on the statements and opinions of the Sufis. Thus, the true situation will become clear, if God wills. II, *143*

We say: A number of religious leaders have published traditions concerning the Mahdî, among them at-Tirmidhî,[789] Abû Dâwûd,[790] al-Bazzâr,[791] Ibn Mâjah,[792] al-Ḥâkim,[793] aṭ-Ṭabarânî,[794] and Abû Ya'lâ al-Mawṣilî.[795] They mention a

[788] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 160 f. Dozy prefers "information" to "traditions."

For the modern literature dealing with the Mahdî traditions, cf., for instance, D. B. Macdonald in *EI*, *s.v.* "al-Mahdî," and, for some of the additional Shî'ah material, W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (Islamic Research Association Series, No. 10) (Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 95 ff.

[789] See n. 105 to Ibn Khaldûn's Introduction, above. The relevant material appears in at-Tirmidhî's *Ṣaḥîḥ* (Bulaq, 1292/1875), II, 23–44, and esp. p. 36.

It should be noted that the chief authorities, al-Bukhârî and Muslim, do not have the traditions concerning the Mahdî as Ibn Khaldûn quotes them.

[790] Sulaymân b. al-Ash'ath, *ca.* 202–275 [817/18–889]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 161; *Suppl.*, I, 266 f. Cf. his *Sunan* (Cairo, 1310/1892–93, in the margin of az-Zurqânî, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa'*), IV, 86–89.

[791] Aḥmad b. 'Amr, d. 292 [904/5]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 258. His *Musnad* has not yet been published. The form al-Bazzâr is indicated in A, C, and D. B has al-Bazzâz.

[792] Muḥammad b. Yazîd, 209–273 [824/25–887]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 163; *Suppl.*, I, 270. His *Sunan* have a chapter on the appearance of the Mahdî; cf. the ed. (Cairo, 1313/1896), II, 269 f.

[793] See n. 250 to Ch. 1, above. His *Mustadrak* deals with the traditions in question at IV, 418 ff., of the Hyderabad ed.

[794] Sulaymân b. Aḥmad, 260–360 [873–971]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 279. His relevant works have not yet been published.

[795] Aḥmad b. 'Alî, d. 307 [919/20]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 258. His *Musnad* has not yet been published.

number of the men around Muḥammad as transmitters of these traditions: 'Alî, Ibn 'Abbâs, Ibn 'Umar, Ṭalḥah, Ibn Mas'ûd,[796] Abû Hurayrah, Anas, Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî,[797] Umm Ḥabîbah,[798] Umm Salimah,[799] Thawbân,[800] Qurrah b. Iyâs,[801] 'Alî al-Hilâlî,[802] and 'Abdallâh b. al-Ḥârith b. Jaz',[803] among others. (They also mention) their chains of transmitters, which have often been found objectionable by those who disapprove (of the matter). We shall mention this now, because *ḥadîth* scholars acknowledge negative criticism to have precedence over positive criticism. If we find that some person in the chain of transmitters is accused of negligence, poor memory, weakness, or poor judgment, it affects and weakens the soundness of the tradition. It should not be said that the same faults often affect the persons (mentioned as authorities in) the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s. The general consensus of *ḥadîth* transmitters confirms the soundness of the contents of (the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s) as presented by al-Bukhârî and Muslim. The uninterrupted general consensus in Islam also confirms the acceptability of (the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s) and the necessity of acting in accordance with their contents. General consensus is the best protection and defense. Works other than the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s are not on the same level with them in this respect. How we have to proceed in discussing the transmitters mentioned in (the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s) is indicated in the statements of authoritative *ḥadîth* scholars on that (subject).

As-Suhaylî [804] reports with reference to Abû Bakr b.

[796] 'Abdallâh b. Mas'ûd. Cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ân* (Leiden, 1937), pp. 20 ff.

[797] Sa'd b. Mâlik. Cf. 1:439, above. He died *ca.* 63–65 [682–685]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 479 f.

[798] One of Muḥammad's wives. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, XII, 411 f.

[799] One of Muḥammad's wives. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, XII, 455 ff.

[800] Thawbân b. Bujdud, d. *ca.* 54 [674]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, II, 31.

[801] He died *ca.* 64 [683/84]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 370.

[802] Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣâbah* (Calcutta, 1856–73), II, 1217, No. 10062, mentions him and his son 'Alî after aṭ-Ṭabarânî, but nothing else is known about him.

[803] He died between 85 and 88 [704–707]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 178 f.

[804] 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. 'Abdallâh, 508–581 [1114/15–1185]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 413; *Suppl.*, I, 733 f. The work referred to is his commentary on Ibn Hishâm's *Sîrah*, entitled *ar-Rawḍ al-unuf* (Cairo, 1332/1914), I, 160.

Abî Khaythamah [805] that the latter did a thorough job of collecting the traditions of the Mahdî. (As-Suhaylî) said: "The tradition with the strangest chain of transmitters is the one mentioned by Abû Bakr al-Iskâf [806] in the *Fawâ'id al-akhbâr*. It goes back to Mâlik b. Anas, who had it on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir,[807] who had it on the authority of Jâbir,[808] who said that the Messenger of God said: 'He who does not believe in the Mahdî is an unbeliever, and he who does not believe in the Antichrist is a liar.' He said something similar with regard to the rising of the sun in the west, I think." One could not find a more extremist statement. The soundness of his chain of transmitters between (Abû Bakr) and Mâlik b. Anas (also) is problematic. Abû Bakr al-Iskâf is considered by (*ḥadîth* scholars) as suspect and as a forger of traditions. II, 144

With their chain of transmitters going back to Ibn Mas'ûd, at-Tirmidhî and Abû Dâwûd have published the following tradition through 'Âṣim b. Abî n-Najûd,[809] one of the seven authoritative Qur'ân readers, on the authority of Zirr b. Ḥubaysh,[810] on the authority of 'Abdallâh b. Mas'ûd, on the authority of the Prophet: "If no more than one day remained of the world—said Zâ'idah [811]—God would cause that day to last until there be sent a man from me—or: from my family—

[805] Aḥmad b. Zuhayr, 185–279 [801–893]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 272.

[806] There is a well-known scholar Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mâlik al-Iskâfî, 263–352 [876/77–963]. Cf. as-Sam'ânî, *Ansâb* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 20) (Leiden & London, 1912), fol. 35*a*; al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd* (Cairo, 1349/1931), III, 219 f. However, he is generally praised as a reliable scholar, and the person mentioned may be someone else.

[807] Born in 60 [679/80], he died in 130 [747/48] or 131 [748/49]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IX, 473 ff.

[808] Apparently, Jâbir b. 'Abdallâh, who died between 73 [692/93] and 77 [696/97]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, II, 42 f. The Jâbir mentioned below, p. 169, is expressly called Jâbir b. 'Abdallâh by Muslim. Otherwise, this could be his contemporary, Jâbir b. Samurah; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, II, 39 f.

[809] One of the seven readers of the Qur'ân, d. between 127 and 128 [744 and 746]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 38 ff. His father's name was Bahdalah.

[810] He died between 80 and 83 [699 and 703]. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh* (Hyderabad, 1360——/1941——), II [1], 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 331 f.

[811] In connection with this tradition, Abû Dâwûd mentions different chains of transmitters from 'Âṣim down. In one of them, the transmitter on

whose name will tally with my name, and the name of whose father will tally with the name of my father."

This is the recension of Abû Dâwûd. Abû Dâwûd did not add any remarks critical of it, and he said in his well-known *Epistle* [812] that everything to which he did not append critical remarks in his book was all right.

The recension of at-Tirmidhî has: "The world will not be destroyed until the Arabs shall be ruled by a man from my family, whose name will tally with my name."

Another recension has: ". . . until a man from my family takes charge."

He (at-Tirmidhî) states in connection with both recensions that it is a good and sound tradition. He also trans-
II, *145* mitted the tradition through 'Âṣim, with a chain of transmitters that stops with Abû Hurayrah.

Al-Ḥâkim said that the tradition was transmitted by ath-Thawrî,[813] Shu'bah,[814] Zâ'idah, and other Muslim religious leaders, on the authority of 'Âṣim. He said: "Everything transmitted by 'Âṣim, on the authority of Zirr, on the authority of 'Abdallâh, is sound, according to the rules I have laid down for using information derived from 'Âṣim as evidence, for he is an authoritative Muslim religious leader." However,[815] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said about 'Âṣim that he was a

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the authority of 'Âṣim is this Zâ'idah b. Qudâmah, who died between 160 and 163 [776 and 780]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 306 f.

Here, and in some of the subsequent citations of traditions, it has proved impossible always to follow the involved course of quotations within quotations by using sequences of double and single quotation marks, in the conventional way; so that quotations are sometimes presented without the use of quotation marks at all. But no loss of clarity can possibly result from this.

[812] Cf. p. 208, below. The *Risâlah* apparently is not preserved.

[813] Sufyân b. Sa'îd, who was born *ca.* A.D. 718 and died in 161 [777/78]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, IX, 151.

[814] Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjâj, d. 160 [776/77]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, IX, 255 ff.

[815] Here and repeatedly in the pages following we have typical examples of the important traditional discipline of "personality criticism," concerned with evaluating the reliability of *ḥadîth* transmitters. (Cf. 1:72 [n. 2], above.) Ibn Khaldûn did not, of course, collect all his statements from primary sources, but relied upon one of the large dictionaries compiled by *ḥadîth*

pious man, a reader of the Qur'ân, and a good and reliable person, but that al-A'mash [816] had a better memory than he. Shu'bah used to prefer al-A'mash to him for establishing (the soundness of) traditions. Al-'Ijlî [817] said: "There was some difference of opinion about his (reliability) with regard to Zirr and Abû Wâ'il." [818] In this way, he alluded to the weakness of the material he transmitted on their authority. Muḥammad b. Sa'd said: "He was reliable; however, he made many errors in his traditions." [819] Ya'qûb b. Sufyân [820] said: "There is some confusion in his traditions." 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. Abî Ḥâtim [821] said: "I said to my father: [822] 'Abû Zur'ah [823] says that 'Âṣim is reliable.' My father replied: 'He does not fall into that category. Ibn 'Ulayyah [824] discussed 'Âṣim (adversely) and said: "Everyone named 'Âṣim has a bad memory." ' " Abû Ḥâtim said: "So far as I am con-

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scholars. Practically all the material he mentions can be found under the relevant entries of Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhîb*. Since that work is based upon the *Tahdhîb* of al-Mizzî, which, in turn, is based upon the *Kamâl fî ma'rifat ar-rijâl* by al-Jammâ'îlî (cf. *GAL*, I, 357; *Suppl.*, I, 606), the inference is that Ibn Khaldûn used al-Jammâ'îlî or one of the works depending on him. Most of these works are available only in MS, and were not at hand for the close checking that would be necessary to ascertain the exact provenience of Ibn Khaldûn's remarks.

[816] Sulaymân b. Mihrân, d. 147/48 [764/65]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdi, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, IX, 3 ff.

[817] Aḥmad b. 'Abdallâh b. Ṣâliḥ, whose dates extend from 182 [798/99] to after 260 [873/74], rather than his less famous father. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, IV, 214 f.

[818] Shaqîq b. Salimah. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IV, 361 ff.

[819] Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqât* ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1905–40), VI, 224.

[820] He died in 277 [891]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, III, 1195; 2d ed., II, 662; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 320 (n. 4).

[821] Born in 240 [854/55], he died in 327 [939]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 278 f. Comparison with Ibn Abî Ḥâtim's *Kitâb al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta'dîl* (Hyderabad, 1360–73/1941–53), III 1, 341, shows that the following quotations, down to the one marked by n. 825, were originally derived from it.

[822] Muḥammad b. Idrîs ar-Râzî, who is repeatedly quoted here as Abû Ḥâtim, d. 277 [890]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, II, 73 ff.

[823] In this case, the reference seems to be to the compatriot of the aforementioned Abû Ḥâtim, namely, Abû Zur'ah ar-Râzî, 'Ubaydallâh b. 'Abd-al-Karîm, 200–264 [815/16–878]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, X, 326 ff.

[824] Ismâ'îl b. Ibrâhîm, 110–193 [728/29–809]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, VI, 229 ff.

cerned, he falls into the category of truthful transmitters whose traditions are all right. But he was not a (great) *ḥadîth* expert." [825] An-Nasâ'î [826] expressed a different opinion about him. Ibn Khirâsh [827] said: "His traditions contain things that are unknown." Abû Ja'far al-'Uqaylî [828] said: "There was nothing the matter with him except a bad memory." Ad-Dâraquṭnî [829] said: "There was something the matter with his memory." Yaḥyâ al-Qaṭṭân [830] said: "I have never found a man named 'Âṣim who did not have a bad memory." He further said: "I heard Shu'bah say: 'We were told by 'Âṣim b. Abî n-Najûd' "—reporting the identical tradition. Adh-Dhahabî [831] said: "He is reliable in his reading
II, *146* of the Qur'ân, but not quite reliable in his traditions. He is a truthful person who commits errors in judgment. He is 'good' in his traditions." Were someone to argue that (al-Bukhârî and Muslim) published traditions of his, (we should reply that) they published them when there were also other (authorities for the same tradition), and that they did not use him as their basic authority. And God knows better.

Abû Dâwûd published a tradition relating to 'Alî in the chapter (on the Mahdî), as transmitted by Fiṭr b. Khalîfah,[832] on the authority of al-Qâsim b. Abî Bazzah,[833] on the authority of Abû ṭ-Ṭufayl,[834] on the authority of 'Alî, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "If only one day of the

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[825] This is one of the phrases used to express disapproval in the terminology of the science of personality criticism. Cf. p. 168 (n. 867), below.

[826] Aḥmad b. 'Alî, 215–303 [830–915]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 162 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 269 f.

[827] Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, 183–243 [799/800–857/58]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, II, 78 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 24.

[828] Muḥammad b. 'Amr, d. 322 [934]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 278.

[829] 'Alî b. 'Umar, 306–385 [918/19–995]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 165; *Suppl.*, I, 275.

[830] Yaḥyâ b. Sa'îd, 120–198 [737/38–813/14]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, XIV, 135 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 216 ff.

[831] Muḥammad b. 'Alî, 673–748 [1274–1348]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 46 ff.; *Suppl.*, II, 45 ff. The statement is derived from his *Mîzân* (Lucknow, 1301/1884), II, 5.

[832] He died in 153 [770]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 300 ff.

[833] He died between 114 and 125 [732/33 and 742/43]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 310.

[834] 'Âmir b. Wâthilah, who died *ca.* 100 [718/19]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 82 ff.

whole duration of the world remained, God would send a man of my family who will fill the world with justice, as it had been filled with injustice." [835]

Fiṭr b. Khalîfah was considered reliable by Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), Yaḥyâ b. al-Qaṭṭân, Ibn Ma'în,[836] an-Nasâ'î, and others, but al-'Ijlî said: "He is 'good' in his traditions, (but) he has some pro-Shî'ah bias." Ibn Ma'în once said: "He is a reliable person and a Shî'ah." Aḥmad b. 'Abdallâh b. Yûnus [837] said: "We used to go and see Fiṭr, but he is rejected, and we did not write down (traditions) on his authority." Another time, he said: "I used to go and see him but always left him like a dog." Ad-Dâraquṭnî said: "He is not utilized as evidence." Abû Bakr b. 'Ayyâsh [838] said: "I gave up transmitting traditions on his authority only because of his bad dogmatic opinions." Al-Jûzajânî [839] said: "He is wayward and not reliable." End of the quotation.

With a chain of transmitters going back to 'Alî, Abû Dâwûd also published the following tradition, on the authority of Hârûn b. al-Mughîrah,[840] on the authority of 'Amr b. Abî Qays,[841] on the authority of Shu'ayb b. Khâlid,[842] on the authority of Abû Isḥâq as-Sabî'î,[843] who said that 'Alî, looking at his son al-Ḥasan, said: "This son of mine is a lord, as he was called by the Messenger of God. From his spine, there will come forth a man who will be called by the name of your Prophet and who will resemble him physically, but will

[835] Ibn Khaldûn mentions another, slightly different version of this tradition, used by a pseudo-Messiah as credentials, in *'Ibar*, VI, 250; de Slane (tr.), II, 226 f.

[836] Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în, 158–233 [774/75–848]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 258; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 271 (n. 7).

[837] Born in 143 [760/61], he died in 227 [842]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 50 f.

[838] Born *ca.* A.D. 718, he died between 192 and 194 [807–810]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XII, 34 ff.

[839] Ibrâhîm b. Ya'qûb, d. 259 [873]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 181 ff.

[840] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 12 f. The same man already appears in al-Bukhârî's *Ta'rîkh*, IV 2, 225.

[841] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 93 f.

[842] Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 352.

[843] 'Amr b. 'Abdallâh, d. 126–29 [743–47]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 63 ff. C seems to have a wrong as-Subay'î.

not resemble him in character." He then mentioned the
II, 147 story, "He will fill the earth with justice. . . ."

Hârûn said: [844] We were told by 'Amr b. Abî Qays, on the authority of Muṭarrif b. Ṭarîf,[845] on the authority of Abû l-Ḥasan,[846] on the authority of Hilâl b. 'Amr: [847] I heard 'Alî say: The Prophet said: "A man will come forth from Beyond the River (Transoxania) whose name will be al-Ḥârith b. Ḥarrâth. In his *avant-garde*, there will be a man whose name will be Manṣûr. He will pave the way—or: prepare the way—for the family of Muḥammad, as the Quraysh prepared the way for the Messenger of God. Every believer must help him—or, he said, respond to his call."

Abû Dâwûd made no critical remarks about this (tradition). In another passage, he said: "Hârûn is a Shî'ah." As-Sulaymânî [848] said: "He is disputed." Concerning 'Amr b. Abî Qays, Abû Dâwûd said: "There is nothing wrong with him, but his traditions contain errors." Adh-Dhahabî said: "He is trustworthy, but there are doubts concerning him." As to Abû Isḥâq as-Sabî'î, even though traditions on his authority are published in the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s, it is well established that he became confused at the end of his life. His transmission on the authority of 'Alî is not continuous. The same applies to Abû Dâwûd's transmission on the authority of Hârûn b. al-Mughîrah.

Abû l-Ḥasan and Hilâl b. 'Amr, (mentioned) in the second chain of transmitters, are little known. Abû l-Ḥasan is known only from the fact that Muṭarrif b. Ṭarîf transmits (material) on his authority. End of the quotation.

The following tradition, furthermore, was published by

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[844] The following is also derived from Abû Dâwûd.

[845] He died 140–43 [757–61]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, X, 172 f.

[846] Cf. *ibid.*, XII, 74, where it is stated that the man is known only through this tradition.

[847] Cf. *ibid.*, XI, 83, where it is stated that he is known only through this tradition. Perhaps, he is thought to be identical with the person mentioned by al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, IV 2, 202 f.

[848] Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. 'Amr, 311–404 [923/24–1014]. Cf. as-Sam'ânî, *Ansâb*, fol. 305*a*; Ibn al-'Imâd, *Shadharât adh-dhahab* (Cairo, 1350–51/1931–33), III, 172.

Abû Dâwûd, as well as by Ibn Mâjah and al-Ḥâkim in the *Mustadrak*, through 'Alî b. Nufayl,[849] on the authority of Sa'îd b. al-Musayyab, on the authority of Umm Salimah, who said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'The Mahdî is one of my family, one of the descendants of Fâṭimah.' " This is Abû Dâwûd's recension. He did not make any critical remarks concerning it. Ibn Mâjah's recension has: "The Mahdî is one of Fâṭimah's descendants." Al-Ḥâkim's recension has: "I heard the Messenger of God mention the Mahdî. He said: 'Yes, he is a fact, and he will be one of the children of Fâṭi- II, *148*
mah.' " Neither (Ḥâkim) nor anyone else discussed the soundness of the tradition (critically). Abû Ja'far al-'Uqaylî declared it to be weak. He said: "'Alî b. Nufayl has not been followed in this tradition, and it is known only through him."

Abû Dâwûd also published the following tradition of Umm Salimah, which was transmitted by Abû l-Khalîl Ṣâliḥ,[850] on the authority of one of his colleagues, on the authority of Umm Salimah, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "There will be a difference of opinion at the death of a caliph. A man from Medina will leave and flee to Mecca. People from Mecca will come to him and will drive him out.[851] He will be unwilling. They will render the oath of allegiance to him between the Corner (*rukn*) of the Ka'bah and the *Maqâm Ibrâhîm*. A mission will be sent to him from Syria. He will disappear with them into the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see that, the saints [852] from Syria will come to him, and groups of 'Irâqîs, and they will render the oath of allegiance to him. Then, a man from the Quraysh will arise, whose maternal uncles are from the Kalb. He will send a (military) mission to them, and it will defeat them. This is the mission of the Kalb. No success will come to those who did not witness (the seizing of) booty by the Kalb. He will distribute the money and act among the people ac-

[849] He died in 125 [742/43]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 391 f.
[850] Ṣâliḥ b. Abî Maryam. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, IV, 402 f.
[851] Cf. p. 183, below.
[852] Cf. pp. 175, 187, and 3:93, below.

cording to the Sunnah of their Prophet. He will plant Islam firmly upon earth. He will last seven years. Then, he will die, and the Muslims will pray for him." Abû Dâwûd said: "Someone said on the authority of Hishâm: [853] 'Nine years.' Others said: 'Seven years.' "

Abû Dâwûd also transmitted the same tradition according to Abû l-Khalîl's recension, on the authority of 'Abdallâh b. al-Ḥârith,[854] on the authority of Umm Salimah. This clears up the identity of the transmitter, whose name was not mentioned in the first chain of transmitters. The persons in it are persons mentioned in the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s. One could not attack them or find fault with them.

(The tradition,) furthermore, is stated (by Abû Dâwûd) to have been transmitted by Qatâdah [855] on the authority of Abû l-Khalîl. Qatâdah did not actually hear the traditions he transmits, from his authorities. He says: "on the authority of," but does not say: "I heard from . . ." In cases of transmitters about whom there is doubt whether they actually heard their traditions from their authorities, a tradition is accepted only when it expressly states that they actually heard it. In this case, moreover, the tradition does not expressly state that it is concerned with the Mahdî, although
II, *149* Abû Dâwûd did, it is true, mention it in his chapters dealing with the Mahdî.

Abû Dâwûd, followed by al-Ḥâkim, also published the following tradition of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî through 'Imrân al-Qaṭṭân,[856] on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Abû Naḍrah,[857] on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said: The Messenger of God said: "The Mahdî is from me. He has a bald forehead and an aquiline nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. He will rule seven years."

This is Abû Dâwûd's recension. He did not make any

[853] Apparently, Hishâm b. 'Urwah, who died 145–47 [762–65]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 48 ff.

[854] He died between 79 and 84 [698–703]. Cf. *ibid.*, V, 180 f.

[855] Qatâdah b. Di'âmah, d. 117 [735]. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 351 ff.

[856] 'Imrân b. Dâwar. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 130–32.

[857] Al-Mundhir b. Mâlik, d. 108/9 [726–28]. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 302 f.

remarks critical of it. Al-Ḥâkim's recension has: "The Mahdî is from us, the people of the House. He has a well-formed, aquiline nose, and a bald (forehead). He will fill the earth with equity and justice, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. He will live this long—and he opened out his left hand and two fingers of his right hand, the thumb and index finger, bending (the other) three down." Al-Ḥâkim said: "This is a sound tradition, according to the rules laid down by Muslim (for sound traditions), but neither (al-Bukhârî nor Muslim) published it." End of the quotation.

Scholars differ as to whether 'Imrân al-Qaṭṭân can be used as evidence. Al-Bukhârî published traditions of his only as additional evidence, and not as the sole basis. Yaḥyâ al-Qaṭṭân used not to transmit any traditions on his authority. Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said: "He is not strong." Once he said: "He is nothing." Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said: "I hope that he is sound in his traditions." Yazîd b. Zuray' [858] said: "He was a Khârijite and considered it permissible to put the people of the Qiblah [859] to the sword." An-Nasâ'î said: "He is weak." Abû 'Ubayd al-Âjurrî [860] said: "I asked Abû Dâwûd about him, and he replied that he was a transmitter of 'good' traditions and that he had heard only good things (about him). Another time, I heard him mention him and say that he was weak." In the days of Ibrâhîm b. 'Abdallâh b. Ḥasan,[861] he gave an unfortunate legal opinion that led to bloodshed.

At-Tirmidhî, Ibn Mâjah, and al-Ḥâkim published the II, *150*
following tradition of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî through Zayd al-'Ammî,[862] on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq an-Nâjî,[863] on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said: "We feared that

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[858] Born in 101 [719/20], he died in 182 [798/99]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 325 ff.

[859] That is, the Muslims who were not Khârijites.

[860] Muḥammad b. 'Alî. Cf. *GAL*, I, 161.

[861] Cf. 1:411 (n. 271), above. 'Imrân is mentioned in connection with him in Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî, *Maqâtil aṭ-Ṭâlibîyîn* (Cairo, 1368/1949), p. 371.

[862] Zayd b. al-Ḥawârî. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, II 1, 358; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 407 ff.

[863] Bakr b. 'Amr, d. 108 [726/27]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 486. The vocalization Ṣiddîq is indicated in C. Instead of 'Amr, the name of his father is also given as Qays; cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, I 2, 93.

something might happen after our Prophet (had died). Therefore we asked him, and he said: 'In my nation, there will come forth the Mahdî. He will live five, or seven, or nine'—increasing the number, as if in doubt." He said: "We asked what (the numbers meant). He replied: 'Years.' Then he continued: 'Someone will come to the Mahdî and say to him: "O Mahdî, give me something." ' He said: 'And (the Madhî) will pour into his garment as much as he can carry.' "

This is the recension of at-Tirmidhî, who said: "It is a 'good' tradition. It was transmitted in more than one way, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, on the authority of the Prophet."

The recension of Ibn Mâjah and al-Ḥâkim has: "There will be in my nation the Mahdî. If he lives (among you) a short time, it will be seven years; if not, it will be nine. My nation will experience a prosperity the like of which they have never experienced before. The earth will bring forth its food and will not hoard any of it. There will be piles of money. A man will get up and say: 'O Mahdî, give me something,' and he will reply: 'Just take.' " [864]

Ad-Dâraquṭnî, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said that Zayd al-'Ammî was all right. Aḥmad added that he was superior to Yazîd ar-Raqâshî [865] and Faḍl b. 'Îsâ.[866] However, Abû Ḥâtim said concerning him that he was weak, and that his traditions may be written down but not used as evidence. Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said of him in connection with another tradition: "(He is) nothing." He once also said: "His traditions may be written down, but he is weak." Al-Jûzajânî said: "He is just holding on (*mutamâsik*)." Abû Zur'ah said: "He is not strong, his traditions are futile, and he is weak." Abû Ḥâtim said: "He is not such (a good man).[867] Shu'bah transmitted traditions on his authority." An-Nasâ'î

[864] Cf. also p. 181, below.

[865] Yazîd b. Abân, d. between 110 and 120 [728–738]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 309 ff.

[866] A nephew of Yazîd. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 283 ff.

[867] This is a phrase expressing disapproval of a transmitter's reliability. It is equivalent to "He is nothing." Cf. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, *Muqaddimah* (Aleppo,

said: "He is weak." Ibn 'Adî [868] said: "Most of his traditions and authorities are weak, even though Shu'bah transmitted traditions on his authority. Shu'bah possibly did not transmit traditions on the authority of anyone weaker than he." II, *151*

It has been said that at-Tirmidhî's tradition is an interpretation of Jâbir's and Abû Sa'îd's traditions, which are transmitted by Muslim in the *Ṣaḥîḥ*.[869] Jâbir said: "The Messenger of God said: 'At the end of my nation, there will be a caliph who will not count money, but just throw it around.' " Abû Sa'îd's tradition reads: ". . . among your caliphs a caliph who will throw the money around." As transmitted by another chain of transmitters, the tradition on the authority of (Jâbir and Abû Sa'îd) reads: "At the end of time, there will be a caliph who will distribute money without counting it." End of the quotation.

Muslim's traditions do not mention the Mahdî, and there is nothing in them to show that the Mahdî is meant in them.

Another tradition was transmitted by al-Ḥâkim through 'Awf al-A'râbî,[870] on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq an-Nâjî, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said: "The Messenger of God said: 'The Hour will not arise before the earth is filled with injustice, crime, and transgression. Then there will come forth from my family one who will fill it with equity and justice, as it had been filled with crime and transgression.' "

Al-Ḥâkim said with regard to (this tradition): "It is sound according to the conditions (for the soundness of traditions) laid down by (al-Bukhârî and Muslim), though none of them published it."

1350/1931), p. 137 (end of Ch. xxiii). Such circumlocutions were used as a cautious way of judging fellow scholars.

While most of the preceding remarks on Zayd al-'Ammî are to be found in Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, *Kitâb al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta'dîl*, I 2, 560 f., this last one, attributed to Ibn Abî Ḥâtim's father, is missing there.

[868] 'Abdallâh b. 'Adî, 277–365 [891–976]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 167; *Suppl.*, I, 280; as-Sahmî, *Ta'rîkh Jurjân* (Hyderabad, 1369/1950), pp. 225 ff.

[869] Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 689; *Handbook*, p. 100*b*.

[870] 'Awf b. Abî Jamîlah, who was born in 59 or a few years later, and who died in 146/47 [678/79–763/64]. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, IV 1, 58; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 166 f.

The following tradition, furthermore, was transmitted by al-Ḥâkim through Sulaymân b. 'Abîd,[871] on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq an-Nâjî, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî: "The Messenger of God said: 'At the end of my nation, there will come forth the Mahdî. God will give him spring rain to drink, and the earth will sprout forth its plants. He will give money away in fairness.[872] The cattle will become numerous, and the nation will be great. He will live seven, or eight—that is, seasons.' " (Al-Ḥâkim) said with regard to (this tradition) that it is a sound one as far as its chain of transmitters is concerned, though neither (al-Bukhârî nor Muslim) published it. Also, none of the authors of the six authoritative collections of traditions published a tradition of Sulaymân b. 'Abîd. However, Ibn Ḥibbân[873]
II, *152* mentioned him in the *Thiqât* (on reliable transmitters). We have seen nobody who discussed him (adversely).

This tradition was also transmitted by al-Ḥâkim through Asad b. Mûsâ,[874] on the authority of Ḥammâd b. Salamah,[875] on the authority of Maṭar al-Warrâq[876] and Abû Hârûn al-'Abdî,[877] on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq an-Nâjî, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd, as follows: "The Messenger of God said: 'The earth will be filled with injustice and crime, and there will come forth a man from my family. He will rule seven or nine, and the earth will be filled with justice and equity, as it had been filled with injustice and crime.' "

Al-Ḥâkim said with regard to (this tradition) that it was sound according to the conditions (for the soundness of traditions) laid down by Muslim. He mentioned Muslim because he published traditions on the authority of Ḥammâd

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[871] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, II 2, 26. His father's name may possibly have been 'Ubayd.

[872] For this translation of *ṣaḥâḥan*, cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, 818*a*, but *ṣiḥâḥan* "in good coins" may be meant.

[873] See n. 109 to Ibn Khaldûn's Introduction, above.

[874] Born in 132 [749/50], he died in 212 [827/28]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 260; * *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 257.

[875] He died in 167 [784]. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 11 ff.

[876] Maṭar b. Ṭahmân, d. *ca.* 140 [757/58]. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 167 ff.

[877] 'Umârah b. Juwayn. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 412 ff.

b. Salamah and his *shaykh*, Maṭar al-Warrâq. He published no traditions on the authority of Ḥammâd's other *shaykh*, Abû Hârûn al-'Abdî. Abû Hârûn is very weak and suspected of lying. There is no need to present in detail the opinions of the religious leaders who consider (Abû Hârûn) weak.

Asad b. Mûsâ, who transmits the tradition on the authority of Ḥammâd b. Salamah, is called "The Lion (*asad*) of the Sunnah." Al-Bukhârî said that he is known (favorably) with regard to the traditions he transmits.[878] He used him to support the reliability of traditions in his *Ṣaḥîḥ*. Abû Dâwûd and an-Nasâ'î used him as evidence. However, (an-Nasâ'î) said on another occasion: "He is reliable, but it would have been better for him if he had not become an author." Abû Muḥammad b. Ḥazm[879] said regarding him: "He is not known (favorably) with regard to the traditions he transmits."

The tradition was also transmitted by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Medium Mu'jam*, as transmitted by Abû l-Wâṣil 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd b. Wâṣil,[880] on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq an-Nâjî, on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Yazîd as-Sa'dî,[881] one of the Banû Bahdalah, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'There will come forth a man from my nation who will talk according to my Sunnah. God will send upon him rain from heaven, and the earth will sprout forth for him its blessing. The earth will be filled through him with equity and justice, as it has been filled with injustice and crime. He will direct the affairs of this II, *153*
nation for seven years, and he will settle in Jerusalem.' "

Aṭ-Ṭabarânî said concerning (this tradition): "It was

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[878] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, I 2, 50.

[879] Supposedly, the great Spanish scholar. See n. 284 to this chapter, above.

[880] I have no information on this man. An Abû Wâṣil at-Tamîmî is mentioned on a page dealing with patronymics, at the end of the MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 327*a*, but the information given by Ibn Khaldûn on the following page in the name of Ibn Ḥibbân's *Thiqât* is not found there. He may have been mentioned in the *Thiqât* in some place I had no opportunity to check.

[881] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, II, 328.

transmitted by a number of persons on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq. None of them inserted another transmitter between him and Abû Sa'îd, except Abû l-Wâṣil. He transmitted it on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Yazîd, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd." End of the quotation.

This al-Ḥasan b. Yazîd was mentioned by Ibn Abî Ḥâtim,[881a] who has no more information on him than that chain of transmitters, in which he appears as a transmitter on the authority of Abû Sa'îd, and in which Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq appears as a transmitter on his authority. In the *Mîzân*, adh-Dhahabî said that he was little known but was mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbân in the *Thiqât* (on reliable transmitters).[882] No tradition of Abû l-Wâṣil, who functions as transmitter of (this tradition) on the authority of Abû ṣ-Ṣiddîq, was published by any of the six authors of authoritative collections of traditions. He was mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbân in the *Thiqât* (on reliable transmitters), in the second class. (Ibn Ḥibbân) said regarding him: "He transmitted traditions on the authority of Anas, and Shu'bah and 'Attâb b. Bashîr [883] transmitted traditions on his authority."

In his *Kitâb as-Sunan*, Ibn Mâjah published the following tradition of 'Abdallâh b. Mas'ûd through Yazîd b. Abî Ziyâd,[884] on the authority of Ibrâhîm,[885] on the authority of 'Alqamah,[886] on the authority of 'Abdallâh, who said: "While we were with the Messenger of God, there came some Hâshimite youths. When he saw them, tears welled forth from his eyes and his color changed." He said: "I said: 'For some time now we have observed something in your

[881a] Cf. his *Kitâb al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta'dîl*, I 2, 42 f.

[882] Cf. Ibn Ḥibbân, *Thiqât*, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 80*a*. The information given here in the name of adh-Dhahabî does not appear in his *Mîzân* under al-Ḥasan b. Yazîd, at least not in the edition (Lucknow, 1301/1884) consulted by me.

[883] He died in 188/90 [804–6]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 90 f.

[884] Born in 47 [667/68], he died in 136 [753/54]. Cf. *ibid.*, XI, 329 ff.

[885] Two Ibrâhîms are mentioned as transmitters on 'Alqamah's authority: Ibrâhîm b. Suwayd (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 126 f.), and the more prominent Ibrâhîm b. Yazîd an-Nakha'î. The latter was 'Alqamah's nephew, and died in 96 [714/15]. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 177 ff.

[886] 'Alqamah b. Qays. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 276 ff.

face we do not like.' He answered: 'For us, the people of the House, God has chosen the other world instead of this one. After me, my people will experience misfortune, exile, and banishment, until people shall come from the East with black flags. They will ask for goodness but they will not be given it. They will fight and they will be victorious. And they will be given what they had asked for, but they will not accept it. Eventually, they will hand (the earth) over to a man of my family. He will fill it with equity, as they had filled it with injustice. Those among you who live to see that happen shall go to them, even if it is necessary to creep over the snow.' " End of the quotation. II, *154*

The *ḥadîth* transmitters know this tradition as "the tradition of the flags." Its transmitter is Yazîd b. Abî Ziyâd. Shu'bah said regarding him: "He was a person who traced back to Muḥammad traditions that are not known to have been transmitted with a chain of transmitters going back to him." Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl [887] said: "He is one of the great religious leaders of the Shî'ah." Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said: "He was no *ḥadîth* expert." Once he said: "He is not such (a good man)." Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said: "He is weak." Al-'Ijlî said: "His traditions are permissible. At the end, he used to understand things." Abû Zur'ah [888] said: "He is soft.[889] His traditions may be written down, but they cannot be used as evidence." Abû Ḥâtim said: "He is not strong." Al-Jûzajânî said: "I heard them declare his traditions weak." Abû Dâwûd said: "I do not know anyone who omitted his traditions, but I like others better than him." Ibn 'Adî said: "He belongs to the Shî'ah of al-Kûfah. In spite of his weakness, his traditions may be written down." [890] Muslim transmitted traditions of

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[887] He died in 195 [810/11]. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, I 1, 207 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IX, 405 f.

[888] Either the afore-mentioned Râzî, or Abû Zur'ah ad-Dimashqî, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. 'Amr, d. 282 [895]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 208 f.

[889] This is a term of rather mild disapproval.

[890] Cf. Ibn 'Adî, *al-Kâmil fî ḍu'afâ' ar-rijâl*, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2948, Vol. III, fols. *252b–253a*. Ibn 'Adî mentions some of the material quoted here by Ibn Khaldûn.

his but only when the same traditions were also transmitted with other chains of transmitters. In general, the majority considered him weak. Religious leaders have pronounced openly on the weakness of the tradition of the flags that was transmitted by him on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Alqamah, on the authority of 'Abdallâh. Wakî' b. al-Jarrâḥ [891] said regarding it: "It is nothing." The same was said by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Abû Qudâmah [892] said: "I heard Abû Usâmah [893] say, regarding Yazîd's tradition about the flags on the authority of Ibrâhîm: 'Were he to swear me fifty oaths, I should not believe him. Is that Ibrâhîm's way? Is that 'Alqamah's way? Is that 'Abdallâh's way?' " Al-
II, *155* 'Uqaylî mentioned this tradition in the *Ḍu'afâ'* (on weak transmitters). Adh-Dhahabî said: "It is not sound." [894]

The following tradition of 'Alî was published by Ibn Mâjah, as transmitted by Yâsîn al-'Ijlî,[895] on the authority of Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafîyah,[896] on the authority of Ibrâhîm's father, on the authority of his grandfather ('Alî), who said: "The Messenger of God said: 'The Mahdî is from among us, the people of the House. God will give him success in one night.' "

Although Ibn Ma'în said, regarding Yâsîn al-'Ijlî, that there was nothing wrong with him, al-Bukhârî said that he was disputed.[897] In al-Bukhârî's terminology, that is a strong expression for declaring a transmitter weak. The tradition of Yâsîn was quoted by Ibn 'Adî in the *Kâmil* and by adh-Dhahabî in the *Mîzân*, with disapproval. (Adh-Dhahabî) said: "It is known as his (tradition)." [898]

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[891] Born in 131 [748/49], he died in 197 [812]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, XIII, 496 ff.

[892] 'Ubaydallâh b. Sa'îd, d. 241 [855/56]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 16 f.

[893] Ḥammâd b. Usâmah, d. 201 [817]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 2 f.

[894] Cf. adh-Dhahabî, *Mîzân*, II, 600 f.

[895] Yâsîn b. Shaybân. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 172 f.

[896] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 157.

[897] This statement is not from al-Bukhârî's *Ta'rîkh*, IV 2, 429, where Yâsîn is briefly mentioned.

[898] Cf. adh-Dhahabî, *Mîzân*, II, 571.

The following tradition of 'Alî was published by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Medium Mu'jam:* "'Alî said to the Messenger of God: 'Will the Mahdî be from among us or from among other people, O Messenger of God?' Muḥammad replied: 'Indeed, he will be from among us. Through us, God will bring about the end, as he brought about the beginning. Through us, they shall be saved from polytheism, and through us, God shall unite them after open hostilities, as he united them through us after the hostilities of polytheism.' 'Alî said: 'Will they be believers or unbelievers?' Muḥammad replied: 'Rebel(s) and unbeliever(s).' " End of the quotation.

(The chain of transmitters of this tradition) includes 'Abdallâh b. Lahî'ah.[899] He is weak, and it is well known what the matter is with him. (The same chain) also includes 'Amr b. Jâbir al-Ḥaḍramî.[900] He is even weaker than Ibn Lahî'ah. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said: "He ('Amr b. Jâbir) transmitted disapproved things on the authority of Jâbir.[901] I have heard that he used to lie." An-Nasâ'î said: "He is not reliable." Ibn Lahî'ah said: "He was a stupid, weak-minded *shaykh*. He used to say: 'Alî is in the clouds.' He was sitting with us, and when he saw a cloud, he would say: 'There goes 'Alî passing by in a cloud.' " [902]

Another tradition of 'Alî was also published by aṭ- II, *156*
Ṭabarânî: "The Messenger of God said: 'At the end of time, there will be a rebellion in which people will be caught as firmly as gold is embedded in the ore. Do not slander the Syrians, but only the bad ones among them, because among them there are (also) saints.[903] Soon a downpour will be sent from heaven upon the Syrians. It will divide them so much that if nothing (stronger) than foxes were going to fight them, they would be defeated. At that time, there will come forth one from among my family and there will be with him

[899] He died in 174 [790/91]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 256.
[900] He died after 120 [738]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 11.
[901] I.e., Jâbir b. 'Abdallâh. Cf. p. 159 (n. 808), above.
[902] Cf. also 1:407, above.
[903] Cf. p. 165, above.

three flags (regiments), comprising, according to the highest figure given, fifteen thousand men, or, according to the lowest figure, twelve thousand men. Their order of the day will be: Kill, kill. They will encounter seven flags (regiments), each of which will be commanded by a man who seeks royal authority. But God will kill all of them. He will restore to the Muslims their unity, prosperity, remote (possessions), and judgment.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes 'Abdallâh b. Lahî'ah. He is weak, and it is well known what the matter is with him. (The tradition) was transmitted by al-Ḥâkim in his *Mustadrak*. He said: "It is sound with regard to the chain of transmitters, but (al-Bukhârî and Muslim) did not publish it." (Al-Ḥâkim's) recension has: ". . . Then, there will appear the Hâshimite, and God will restore to the people their unity, etc." (Al-Ḥâkim's) chain of transmitters does not include Ibn Lahî'ah. It is, as he states, a sound chain.

The following tradition of 'Alî was published by al-Ḥâkim in the *Mustadrak*, as transmitted by Abû ṭ-Ṭufayl, on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafîyah, who said: "We were with 'Alî, and someone asked him about the Mahdî. 'Alî replied: 'Look here.' Then he made a seven with his fingers and said: 'He is the one who will come forth at the end of time. When someone says (at that time): God, God! he will be killed. God will gather for him people who are
II, *157* scattered like stray clouds. He will unite them. They will be neither sad nor glad over anyone who joins them. In number they will be like the fighters at Badr, whom men of former times did not surpass and men of later times fell short of. They will also be like the number of the companions of Saul who crossed the river with him.' " [904] Abû ṭ-Ṭufayl said:

[904] Cf. Qur'ân 2.249 (250), where the story of Saul is mixed up with that of Gideon (Judg. 7:6). In Judg. 7:6, the number of men is given as 300. For the comparison between the number of Muslim fighters at Badr in 624 and that of Saul's men, cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 1296 ff. The canonical number for both groups is there set at "310 and some," or 313. Cf. also, for instance, ath-Tha'labî, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyâ'*, the account of Saul; and Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah*, III, 268 f. Elsewhere, the number of fighters at Badr is indicated as 1,000,

"Ibn al-Ḥanafîyah said: 'Do you want (to hear) it?' I said: 'Yes.' (So) he continued: 'He will come forth between these two mountains.' [905] I said: 'By God, I shall assuredly not leave them until I die.' "—And he died in it, that is, Mecca.

Al-Ḥâkim said: "This is a sound tradition according to the conditions (for sound traditions) laid down by (al-Bukhârî and Muslim)." End of the quotation.

However, it is (sound) only according to the conditions laid down by Muslim, for in (the chain of transmitters) there occur the names of 'Ammâr ad-Duhnî [906] and Yûnus b. Abî Isḥâq.[907] Al-Bukhârî did not publish any traditions of these two men. It also includes 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-'Anqazî.[908] Al-Bukhârî did not publish traditions of his as evidence, though he did publish them to support the reliability of traditions. In addition, there also is the pro-Shî'ah sentiment of 'Ammâr ad-Duhnî. Although Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), Ibn Ma'în, Abû Ḥâtim, an-Nasâ'î, and others considered him reliable, 'Alî b. al-Madînî [909] said on the authority of Sufyân [910] that Bishr b. Marwân [911] had disqualified him. "In what respect?" I (Sufyân) asked. He replied: "In respect to his pro-Shî'ah sentiment."

The following tradition of Anas b. Mâlik was published by Ibn Mâjah, as transmitted by Sa'd b. 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd b. Ja'far,[912] on the authority of 'Alî b. Ziyâd al-Yamâmî,[913] on

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and the Qur'ân commentators also mention 1,000 and 3,000 as the number of the men with Saul. Cf. also H. von Mžik, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIX (1915), 370–83.

[905] The mountains of Mecca. [906] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 406 f.

[907] He died between 152 and 159 [769–75]. Cf. *ibid.*, XI, 433 f. The name of his father is said to have been 'Amr.

[908] He died in 199 [814/15]. Cf. as-Sam'ânî, *Ansâb*, fol. 401*a*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VIII, 98 f.

[909] 'Alî b. 'Abdallâh, 161 [177/78] to 234 or 235 [849–50]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, XI, 458 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 349 ff.

[910] Sufyân b. 'Uyaynah. Cf. n. 88 to Ibn Khaldûn's Introduction, above.

[911] Unidentified. The son of the Umayyad caliph Marwân (mentioned by de Slane) died much too early to have passed critical judgment on 'Ammâr.

[912] He died in 219 [834]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 477.

[913] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VII, 321 f., where the tradition is quoted. Ibn Ḥajar states that it should be 'Abdallâh b. Ziyâd. He states this as if it were his own original suggestion. Cf. n. 917, below.

the authority of 'Ikrimah b. 'Ammâr,[914] on the authority of Isḥâq b. 'Abdallâh,[915] on the authority of Anas, who said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'We, the descendants of 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, are the lords of the inhabitants of Paradise. I, Ḥamzah, 'Alî, Ja'far, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and the Mahdî.' " [916] End of the quotation.

Muslim published traditions of 'Ikrimah b. 'Ammâr, but
II, *158* only where the same tradition is reported by others. Some scholars considered him weak, others reliable. Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî said: "He transmits traditions from authorities without stating whether he actually heard them from them. His traditions are acceptable only if he expressly states that he heard them." [916a]

In the *Mîzân*, adh-Dhahabî said with regard to 'Alî b. Ziyâd: "It is not known who he is." Then, he said: "It should be 'Abdallâh b. Ziyâd." [917]

Sa'd b. 'Abd-al-Hamîd was considered reliable by Ya'qûb b. Shaybah.[918] Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said regarding him: "There is nothing wrong with him." However, ath-Thawrî discussed him (adversely), because, it is said, he saw him give legal opinions on certain problems and make mistakes. Ibn Ḥibbân said: "He belongs among those who made atrocious mistakes. He may not be used as evidence." Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said: "Sa'd b. 'Abd-al-Ḥamîd claims that he heard the books of Mâlik when they were presented. The scholars disapprove of this statement of his. He is here in Baghdad and never made the pilgrimage, so how could he have heard them?" Adh-Dhahabî placed him among those whom it would be no slander to discuss (adversely).

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[914] He died in 159 [775/76]. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 261 ff.

[915] Probably one of the two mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar, *ibid.*, I, 239 ff., both of whom died *ca.* 750.

[916] Ḥamzah was one of the uncles of the Prophet, Ja'far a brother of 'Alî.

[916a] Only the first part of Abû Ḥâtim's statement appears in Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, *Kitâb al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta'dîl*, III 2, 11.

[917] Cf. adh-Dhahabî, *Mîzân*, II, 202, where, however, adh-Dhahabî does not make the remark concerning the name.

[918] Ya'qûb was born in 182 [778/79] and died in 262 [875]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, XIV, 281 ff.

The following tradition was published by al-Ḥâkim in his *Mustadrak*, as transmitted by Mujâhid [919] on the authority of Ibn Abbâs, with a chain of transmitters stopping with the latter and not continued back to the Prophet: "Mujâhid said: 'Abdallâh b. 'Abbâs said to me: 'If I had not heard that you are like a member of the family of Muḥammad, I would not tell this tradition.' He said: Mujâhid replied: 'I shall keep it in confidence. I shall not tell it to anyone to whom you might object.' Thereupon, Ibn 'Abbâs said: 'From among us, the people of the House, there will be four: As-Saffâḥ, al-Mundhir, al-Manṣûr, and the Mahdî.' He said: Mujâhid asked him to explain those four to him, and Ibn 'Abbâs replied: 'As-Saffâḥ often kills his supporters and forgives his enemies. Al-Mundhir,' I believe he said, 'will give away a great deal of money. He will not consider himself a great man and will hold on to (even) his smallest rights. Al-Manṣûr will be given half as much help against his enemies as the Messenger of God was given. Muḥammad's enemies were terrified by him for a space of two months,[920] and al-Manṣûr's II, *159*
enemies will be terrified by him for a space of one month. The Mahdî will be the one who will fill the earth with justice, as it had been filled with injustice. The cattle will be safe from wild animals, and the earth will cast out the treasures of its interior.' He said, and I asked him what the treasures of the interior of the earth were. He replied: 'Something like gold and silver columns.' " End of the quotation.

Al-Ḥâkim said: "This is a sound tradition as regards the chain of transmitters. But neither (al-Bukhârî nor Muslim) published it. It is transmitted by Ismâ'îl b. Ibrâhîm b. Muhâjir,[921] on the authority of his father. Ismâ'îl is weak, and his father Ibrâhîm is considered weak by most scholars, even though Muslim published traditions of his."

The following tradition by Thawbân was published by

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[919] Mujâhid b. Jabr, d. between 101 and 104 [719–23]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, X, 42 ff.

[920] Cf. p. 88, above.

[921] For Ismâ'îl, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 279; for his father, *ibid.*, I, 167 f.

Ibn Mâjah. Thawbân said: "The Messenger of God said: 'Three will fight with each other at (the place where) your treasure (is). All of them are the sons of a caliph. None of them will get it. Then, black flags will arise from the East. They will kill you in a slaughter such as there has never been before.' He then mentioned something that I do not remember. He continued: 'When you see him, render the oath of allegiance to him, even if you must creep over the snow. For he is the representative of God, the Mahdî.' " End of the quotation.

The persons named in (the chain of transmitters of this tradition) are persons whose names occur in the *Ṣaḥîḥ*.[922] However, among them is that of Abû Qilâbah al-Jarmî.[923] Adh-Dhahabî and others mentioned that Abû Qilâbah reported traditions he had not himself heard from his authorities. The chain of transmitters also includes Sufyân ath-Thawrî. He is known for reporting traditions he had not heard from his authorities. Each of the two merely said that he had a tradition on the authority of such-and-such a person, without stating that he had heard it from him. Therefore, their traditions are not acceptable. The chain of transmitters further includes 'Abd-ar-Razzâq b. Hammâm,[924] who is known for his pro-Shî'ah sentiments. At the end of his life he became blind and confused. Ibn 'Adî said: "He reported traditions on the virtues (of Muḥammad and the early Muslims), with regard to which no one agrees with him. Scholars considered him to have pro-Shî'ah sentiments." End of the quotation.

The following tradition of 'Abdallâh b. al-Ḥârith b. Jaz' az-Zubaydî was published by Ibn Mâjah through Ibn Lahî'ah,
II, *160* on the authority of Abû Zur'ah 'Amr b. Jâbir al-Ḥaḍramî, on the authority of 'Abdallâh b. al-Ḥârith b. Jaz', who said: "The Messenger of God said: 'People will come forth from

[922] Bulaq: "the two *Ṣaḥîḥs*."

[923] 'Abdallâh b. Zayd, d. between 104 and 107 [722–26]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 224 ff. Cf. also adh-Dhahabî, *Mîzân*, II, 36.

[924] Born in 126 [743/44], he died in 211 [827]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VI, 310 ff.

the East. They will pave the way for the Mahdî,' " that is, (for) his rule.

Aṭ-Ṭabarânî said: "Ibn Lahî'ah stands alone with this tradition." We mentioned earlier, in connection with the tradition of 'Alî, published by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Medium Mu'jam*, that Ibn Lahî'ah was weak and that his authority, 'Amr b. Jâbir, was even weaker than he.[925]

The following tradition was published by al-Bazzâr in his *Musnad* and by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Medium Mu'jam*—the recension (quoted here) is that of aṭ-Ṭabarânî—on the authority of Abû Hurayrah, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "In my nation, there will be the Mahdî. If he lives (among you) only a short time, it will be seven, eight, or nine. My nation will experience a prosperity the like of which it has never experienced before. The heavens will rain upon them. The earth will not hoard any of its plants. There will be piles of money. A man will get up and say: 'O Mahdî, give me something,' and the Mahdî will reply: 'Just take.' " [926]

Aṭ-Ṭabarânî and al-Bazzâr said: "Muḥammad b. Marwân al-'Ijlî [927] stands alone with this tradition." Al-Bazzâr added: "We do not know whether anyone followed him in this tradition." Abû Dâwûd, as well as Ibn Ḥibbân, by the way he mentions him in the *Thiqât* (on reliable transmitters), considered him reliable. Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said regarding him: "He is all right." Once, he said: "There is nothing wrong with him." Still, opinions about him differ. Abû Zur'ah said: "In my opinion, he is not such (a good man)." 'Abdallâh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [928] said: "I saw Muḥammad b. Marwân al-'Uqaylî tell traditions while I was present. I did not write them down. I purposely omitted to do so. One of our colleagues wrote down traditions on his authority, in a way that suggested he considered him weak."

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[925] Cf. p. 175, above.

[926] Cf. p. 168, above.

[927] Or al-'Uqaylî. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IX, 435 f.

[928] The son of Ibn Ḥanbal was the transmitter of most of the opinions reported here in the name of his father. He was born in 213 [828/29] and died in 290 [903]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 141 ff.

The following tradition of Abû Hurayrah was published by Abû Ya'lâ al-Mawṣilî in his *Musnad.* Abû Hurayrah said: "My friend Abû l-Qâsim (the Prophet Muḥammad) said:
II, *161* 'The Hour will not arise before there shall have come forth against them a man from my family. He will beat them until they return to the truth.' He said. And I asked: 'How long will he rule?' He replied: 'Five and two.' He said. And I asked: 'What is meant by five and two?' He replied: 'I do not know.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters includes Bashîr b. Nahîk.[929] Abû Ḥâtim said, regarding him: "He may not be used as evidence." Still, both (al-Bukhârî and Muslim) used him as evidence, and the scholars considered him reliable. They paid no attention to Abû Ḥâtim's statement that he may not be used as evidence. However, (the chain of transmitters also) includes Murajjâ b. Rajâ' al-Yashkurî.[930] Opinions differ concerning him. Abû Zur'ah said: "He is reliable." Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said: "He is weak." Abû Dâwûd said: "He is weak," but once he said: "He is all right." Al-Bukhârî has one fragment [931] of his in his *Ṣaḥîḥ.*[932]

The following tradition of Qurrah b. Iyâs was published by Abû Bakr al-Bazzâr in his *Musnad,* and by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Large* and *Medium Mu'jams.*[933] Qurrah said: "The Messenger of God said: 'The earth will be filled with injustice and crime. When it is filled with injustice and crime, God will send a man from me whose name will be my name, and whose father's name will be my father's name. He will fill it with justice and equity, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. Heaven will not withhold its rain, nor the earth its

[929] Cf. *ibid.,* I, 470.

[930] Cf. *ibid.,* X, 83 f.

[931] *Jidhm,* as in all the MSS. The word means a part of a tradition that has been "cut off" from the main body (and possibly amplified). The dictionaries do not list this meaning for it.

[932] I, 243.

[933] The tradition is not mentioned under Qurrah's name in aṭ-Ṭabarânî's *Large Mu'jam,* for which I consulted the MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 227, Vol. III (pt. 10).

plants. He will remain among you seven, or eight, or nine' " — that is, years.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes Dâwûd b. al-Muḥabbar b. Qaḥdham,[934] on the authority of his father. Both Dâwûd and his father are very weak.

The[935] following tradition of Umm Ḥabîbah was published by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Medium Mu'jam.* (Umm Ḥabîbah) said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'People will come forth from the East. They will come for a man who is at the House. They will eventually come into a desert land, and he will then disappear with them. Those who are left II, *162* behind will join them. They will suffer the same fate.'[936] I said: 'O Messenger of God, how about those who were sent against their will?' He replied: 'They will suffer the same fate as the people have suffered. Then, God will resurrect each man according to the intention (that had guided him in his actions).' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes Salamah b. al-Abrash,[937] who is weak. It also includes Muḥammad b. Isḥâq.[938] He transmits traditions he did not hear, and he says that he had them "on the authority of" someone. His traditions are acceptable only where he expressly states that he heard them.

The following tradition of ('Abdallâh) b. 'Umar was (also) published by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in his *Medium Mu'jam.* Ibn 'Umar said: "The Messenger of God was in the company of some (Meccan) Emigrants and (Medinese) Helpers (*Anṣâr*). 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib was on his left, and al-'Abbâs on his right. Al-'Abbâs got into a dispute with one of the *Anṣâr*, and the latter used insulting language to al-'Abbâs. There-

[934] He died in 206 [821]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, VIII, 359 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 199 ff.

[935] The following two paragraphs are omitted in Bulaq.

[936] Cf. p. 165, above.

[937] He died not long after 190 [806/7]. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, II 2, 85; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IV, 153 f.

[938] The famous historian. Cf. 1:7 (n. 10), above. For unfavorable opinions concerning him as transmitter, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IX, 43.

upon, the Prophet took the hand of al-'Abbâs and the hand of 'Alî and said: 'The spine of this one will produce descendants until the whole earth shall be filled with injustice and crime, and the spine of that one will produce descendants until the whole earth shall be filled with equity and justice. When you see this (happen), then take care of the Tamîmite youth. He will advance from the East. He will be in charge of the flag of the Mahdî.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of this tradition includes 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar al-'Umarî [939] and 'Abdallâh b. Lahî'ah. Both are weak.

The following tradition of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallâh, on the authority of the Prophet, was published by aṭ-Ṭabarânî in the *Medium Mu'jam*. The Prophet said: "There will be a rebellion. When one side rests, the other side will become restless. Finally, a herald will call from heaven: 'Your Commander is such-and-such.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes al-Muthannâ b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ,[940] who is very weak. The tradition does not expressly mention the Mahdî, but (scholars) have included it in their chapters dealing with (the Mahdî) and in
II, *163* his biography, by association.

These are all the traditions published by the religious authorities concerning the Mahdî and his appearance at the end of time. One has seen what they are like. Very few [941] are above criticism.

Those who disapprove of the (Mahdî) matter frequently keep to the tradition of Muḥammad b. Khâlid al-Janadî,[942] on the authority of Abân b. Ṣâliḥ b. Abî 'Ayyâsh,[943] on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî,[944] on the authority of Anas b.

[939] He died in 173 [789/90]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 326 ff.

[940] He died in 149 [767]. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 35 ff.

[941] Bulaq: "As one has seen, very few . . ."

[942] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IX, 143 ff.

[943] Born in 60 [679/80], he died some time after 110 [728–29]. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 94 f.

[944] The famous saint and scholar of early Islam, who died in 110 [728]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 61 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 102 f. Cf. 1:lxxv f. above.

Mâlik, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "There is no Mahdî except Jesus, the son of Mary."

Yaḥyâ b. Ma'în said, regarding Muḥammad b. Khâlid al-Janadî, that he was reliable. Al-Bayhaqî [945] said: "Muḥammad b. Khâlid stands alone with (this tradition)." Al-Ḥâkim said, regarding Muḥammad b. Khâlid, that he was a little-known personage.

There are differences in the chain of transmitters of (this tradition). Sometimes it is transmitted as quoted. In this form, it is attributed to Muḥammad b. Idrîs ash-Shâfi'î. Sometimes the tradition is transmitted on the authority of Muḥammad b. Khâlid, on the authority of Abân, on the authority of al-Ḥasan, on the authority of the Prophet, thus skipping one link in the chain. Al-Bayhaqî says: "Thus, (the tradition) is one transmitted by Muḥammad b. Khâlid, who is little known, on the authority of Abân b. Abî 'Ayyâsh, who is not accepted, on the authority of al-Ḥasan, on the authority of the Prophet, which makes it a tradition with an interrupted chain of transmitters. In general, the tradition is weak and disturbed."

It has also been said that the statement: "There is no Mahdî except Jesus," means that nobody spoke in the cradle (*mahd*) except Jesus.[946] This interpretation is intended to prevent use of (the tradition) as evidence (for Mahdism) or its combination with the (other) traditions (that speak about the Mahdî).[947] It is refuted by the story of Jurayj [948] and

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[945] Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, 384–458 [994–1066]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 364; *Suppl.*, I, 618 f.

[946] Cf. Qur'ân 3.46 (40); 5.110 (109).

[947] Even if the tradition is interpreted to refer to the Mahdî, it is not the historical Jesus who is meant, but the future one who is equated with the expected Mahdî.

[948] The legend of a pious Jew whom a harlot was unable to seduce. She persuaded a shepherd to make her pregnant, and the Jews accused Jurayj of fornication. He prayed, and the infant spoke, saying that his father was the shepherd. Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313/1895), II, 307 f.; at-Tawḥîdî, *Imtâ'* (Cairo, 1939–44), II, 97 f.; al-Qushayrî, *Risâlah* (Cairo, 1367/1948), p. 161; Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah*, II, 134. Cf. also J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 78 ff.

similar miracles (which show that Jesus was not the only infant to speak in the cradle).

(*Sufi opinions about the Mahdî*)

The ancient Sufis did not go into anything concerned with (the Mahdî). All they discussed was their (mystic) activity
II, *164* and exertion and the resulting ecstatic experiences and states. It was the Imâmîyah and the extremist Shî'ah who discussed the preferred status of 'Alî, the matter of his imamate, the claim (made in his behalf) to have received the imamate through the last will (of the Prophet),[949] and the rejection of the two *Shaykhs* (Abû Bakr and 'Umar), as we have mentioned in connection with the discussion of Shî'ah dogmatics.[950] Thereafter, there originated among them the dogma of the Infallible Imam.[951] Much was written on (Shî'ah) dogmatics. The Ismâ'îlîyah Shî'ah made its appearance. It asserted the divinity of the imam through incarnation. Others asserted that the (dead) imams would return, either through metempsychosis or (in the very form they had had during their lifetime). Still others expected the coming of imams who would be cut off from them through death. Others, finally, expected that the family of Muḥammad would return to power. They deduced this from the afore-mentioned traditions concerning the Mahdî, and from other traditions.

Among the later Sufis, removal (of the veil, *kashf*) and matters beyond the veil of sense perception likewise came to be discussed. A great many Sufis came to speak about incarnation and oneness.[951a] This gave them something in common with the Imâmîyah and the extremist Shî'ah who believed in the divinity of the imams and in the incarnation of the deity in them. The Sufis also came to believe in a "pole"

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[949] Cf. 1:435 ff., above.
[950] Cf. 1:402 ff., above.
[951] Cf. 1:185, 403, and 471, above.
[951a] That is, pantheism or monism.

(*quṭb*) and in "saints" (*abdâl*). This (belief) looked like an imitation of the opinions of the extremist Shî'ah concerning the imam and the 'Alid "chiefs" (*nuqabâ'*).[952]

The Sufis thus became saturated with Shî'ah theories. (Shî'ah) theories entered so deeply into their religious ideas that they based their practice of using a cloak (*khirqah*) on the (alleged) fact that 'Alî clothed al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî in such a cloak and caused him to agree solemnly that he would adhere to the mystic path. (The tradition thus inaugurated by 'Alî) was continued, according to the Sufis, through al-Junayd,[953] one of the Sufi *shaykhs*.

However, it is not known with certainty that 'Alî did any such thing. The (mystic) path was not reserved to 'Alî, but II, *165*
all the men around Muḥammad were models of the (various) paths of religion. The fact that (the Sufis) restrict (precedence in mysticism) to 'Alî smells strongly of pro-Shî'ah sentiment. This and other afore-mentioned Sufi ideas show that the Sufis have adopted pro-Shî'ah sentiments and have become enmeshed in them.

Therefore, the books of the extremist Ismâ'îlîyah (Shî'ah) and the books of the later Sufis are full of ideas concerning the expected Fâṭimid. They were passed on through dictation and teaching. All (these speculations) are built upon brittle foundations. This applies to both parties. Some (Sufis and Shî'ah) occasionally base themselves in this connection on astrological discussions of astral conjunctions. (The result is) a sort of predictions (*malâḥim*), as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Most (prominent) among the later Sufis who discuss the Fâṭimid are Ibn al-'Arabî al-Ḥâtimî,[954] in the *'Anqâ' Mughrib;* Ibn Qasî,[955] in the *Kitâb Khal' an-na'layn;* 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq b.

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[952] Cf. 3:93, below.

[953] Al-Junayd b. Muḥammad, d. 298 [910/11]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 199; *Suppl.*, I, 354 f.

[954] The famous mystic, whose mystical thinking dominated that of Ibn Khaldûn and his period. Muḥammad b. 'Alî, 560–638 [1165–1240]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 441 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 790 ff.

[955] Cf. 1:322, above.

Sab'în; [956] and one of (Ibn Sab'în's) pupils, Ibn Abî Wâṭîl,[957] in his commentary on the *Kitâb Khal' an-na'layn*. When they speak about (the Fâṭimid), they mostly speak in riddles and parables. Occasionally, they make a minimum of explicit statements, or their commentators make explicit statements.

According to Ibn Abî Wâṭîl, the sum of their beliefs in connection with (the Fâṭimid) is that (in pre-Islamic times) there had been error and blindness. Then, truth and right guidance made their appearance through prophecy. Prophecy was followed by the caliphate, and the caliphate, in turn, was followed by royal authority. Royal authority, then, reverted to tyranny, presumptuousness, and worthlessness. They said: And since it has been observed to be God's procedure to have things return to their original state, prophecy and truth will by necessity be revived through sainthood (*wilâyah*). Sainthood will be followed by the stage that properly comes after it (caliphate). (This,) in turn, will be followed by the time of the Antichrist (*dajl*), which will take the place of royal
II, *166* authority and the rule of power. Then, unbelief will return to the old position it occupied before the coming of the prophecy (of Muḥammad).

This refers to the caliphate which came after the prophecy, and to the royal authority which followed the caliphate. These are three stages. Likewise, the sainthood of the Fâṭimid, who will revive prophecy and righteousness, the stage (caliphate) that properly follows upon the Fâṭimid, and then the time of the Antichrist, which will follow after it and which is that state of worthlessness alluded to in the expression "appearance of the Antichrist"—these are three stages corresponding to the first three. Then, unbelief will return to the existence it had had before the prophecy (of Muḥammad).

Now, the caliphate, they continued, belongs legally to the Quraysh, according to the general consensus which cannot be weakened by the disapproval of people who have insuffi-

[956] 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq b. Ibrâhîm, 623 or 624 [1226/27] to 669 [1271]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 465 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 844.

[957] I have no information on him beyond Ibn Khaldûn's remarks.

cient knowledge.[958] Therefore, the imamate belongs, of necessity, to a person who is even closer to the Prophet than the Quraysh. (This he may be) either externally, by being a descendant of 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, or inwardly, by belonging to Muḥammad's "family," according to the real meaning of "family," which means those at the time of whose presence the one who is their "family" is not absent.[959]

In his *Kitâb 'Anqâ' Mughrib*, Ibn al-'Arabî al-Ḥâtimî called (the Mahdî) "the Seal of the Saints." [960] He is known under the name of "the silver brick," with reference to a tradition reported by al-Bukhârî in the chapter on the Seal of the Prophets (in the book on *Manâqib*), which says: "Muḥammad said: 'I and the prophets before me are like a man who built a house and finished it save for one brick still to be placed. I am this brick.' " [961] Therefore, the (scholars) interpret "the Seal of the Prophets" [962] as the brick needed for the completion of the building. It means the prophet who has obtained the perfect prophecy. Sainthood in its different degrees is compared (by the Sufis) to prophecy. The perfect (saint) is considered to be the "seal" of the saints, that is,

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[958] Cf. 1:396 ff., above.

[959] This apparently means that when the Mahdî appears he will enjoy the spiritual presence of Muḥammad.

[960] The title of Ibn 'Arabî's work is *'Anqâ' mughrib fî khatm al-awliyâ' wa-shams al-maghrib*, "The Phoenix on the Sealing of the Saints and the Sun (Rising from) the West." The expression *khatm al-awliyâ'* occurs again in the introduction to the work. Otherwise, the work has little to do with this subject, and there seems little occasion to speak of the Fâṭimid in connection with it. The subsequent quotation from Ibn 'Arabî is not found in it, either; apparently Ibn Khaldûn quoted the work through Ibn Abî Wâṭîl.

I consulted the following MSS of the *'Anqâ'* in Istanbul: Reis el-küttap 483 (dated 844 [1441]); Köprülü 749 (probably seventeenth century); Ragib Paşa 1453, fols. 133*a*–180*b* (eighteenth century copy of a MS written by Ibn 'Arabî's student, Ṣadr-ad-dîn al-Qônawî, approved by Ibn 'Arabî himself); and Carullah 1062. An incomplete work on the Mahdî is ascribed to the same Qônawî in the MS. Aya Sofya 4849, fols. 168*a*–180*a*. Cf. *GAL*, I, 449 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 807 f. [Further MSS of the *'Anqâ'* are enumerated by K. 'Awwâd in *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmî al-'Arabî* (Damascus), XXIX (1954), 532. 'Awwâd appears, however, to be wrong when he says that the work has been published.]

[961] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 390.

[962] Cf. p. 61 (n. 587), above.

the saint who is in the possession of the rank that is the final ("sealing") stage of sainthood, exactly as "the Seal of the
II, *167* Prophets" was the prophet who was in possession of the rank that is the final ("sealing") stage of prophecy. In the tradition quoted, the Lawgiver (Muḥammad) used the phrase, "the brick (that completes) the house," for that final stage. The two things correspond to each other. Thus, (they may be compared) to bricks (of different materials). In the case of prophecy, the brick is gold. In the case of sainthood, the brick is silver. The difference in importance existing between the two stages corresponds to the difference (in value) that exists between gold and silver. "Gold brick" is used as a name for the Prophet, and "silver brick" as a name for the expected Fâṭimid saint. The one is "the Seal of the Prophets," and the other "the Seal of the Saints."

Ibn al-'Arabî [963] said, as reported by Ibn Abî Wâṭîl: This expected imam is a member of the family of Muḥammad and a descendant of Fâṭimah. His appearance will take place when *kh-f-j* years have passed after the Hijrah.—He wrote down three letters. He meant their numerical value,[964] *kh* being 600, *f* 80, and *j* 3. This makes 683 years, or the end of the seventh [thirteenth] century. When this time had passed and (the Mahdî) had not appeared, some of those who accepted the tradition were forced to assume that the number meant the date of the birth of (the Mahdî)—"appearance" meaning birth—and that he would come forth in 710 [1310]. He would be the imam who would come forth from the region of the Maghrib. He said: If, as Ibn al-'Arabî thinks, his birth is in the year 683 [1284/85], he must be twenty-six years old at the time of his appearance. He said: They (also) thought that the Antichrist would come forth in the year 743 [1342/43] [965] of the Muḥammadan day. In their opinion, the
II, *168* Muḥammadan day begins with the day of the death of the Prophet and lasts to the completion of the year 1000.

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[963] Cf. n. 960, above.

[964] Cf. p. 3:173 (n. 809), below.

[965] Or ten years later, if counted from the death of the Prophet.

In his commentary on the *Kitâb Khal' an-na'layn*, Ibn Abî Wâṭîl said: The expected saint who will take charge of God's command, who is referred to under the names of Muḥammad al-Mahdî and Seal of the Saints: He is no prophet. He is a saint, sent by his spirit and his friend. Muḥammad said: "The scholar is among his people what the prophet is in his nation." He also said: "The scholars of my nation are like the prophets of the children of Israel." The glad tidings of his (coming) will never cease (to be heard) from the beginning of the Muḥammadan day to shortly before the year 500 [1106/7], which is the middle of (that) day. They will become stronger and more numerous as the result of the *shaykhs'* jubilant announcements of the approach of (the Mahdî's) coming and the coming of his period, from the end of (the year 500) onward.

Al-Kindî,[966] he continued, mentioned that that saint will be the person who will say the noon prayer with the people. He will renew Islam and cause justice to triumph. He will conquer the Spanish peninsula and reach Rome and conquer it. He will travel to the East and conquer it. He will conquer Constantinople, and rule over the whole earth will be his. The Muslims will become strong, Islam will be exalted, and the pristine religion (*dîn al-ḥanîfîyah*) will come forth. From noon prayer to afternoon prayer, will be (one) prayer time. Muḥammad said: "(The time) between the two is a (prayer) time." [967]

Al-Kindî also said: "The sum total of the numerical value of the Arabic letters that have no diacritical points—he means, the letters at the beginning of certain *sûrah*s of the

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[966] Cf. 1:176 (n. 231), above. For the quotations from al-Kindî that follow, cf. his *Risâlah fî mulk al-'Arab*, ed. O. Loth, in *Morgenländische Forschungen* (Festschrift H. L. Fleischer) (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 261–309; and F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsî* (American Oriental Series, No. 26) (New Haven, 1943), pp. 122 f. Cf. also below, pp. 194 and 218. Al-Kindî's *Risâlah* is also briefly quoted by Pseudo-Majrîṭî, *Ghâyah*, ed. H. Ritter (Leipzig & Berlin, 1933), pp. 175 f., a work with which Ibn Khaldûn was very familiar.

[967] This refers to the disappearance of time intervals in the Messianic age.

Qur'ân [968]—is 743 Antichristian (years). Then, Jesus will descend at the time of the afternoon prayer. The world will be prosperous. The sheep will go with the wolf. After the (non-Arabs) have become Muslims with Jesus, the non-Arab kingdom will last 160 years in all—that is, (the sum of the
II, *169* letters) *q-y-n*. Forty of these 160 years will be the rule of justice."

Ibn Abî Wâṭîl said: Muḥammad's statement, "There is no Mahdî except Jesus," means that there is no one who is guided (*mahdî*) as well as Jesus. It has also been said (to mean that) nobody spoke in the cradle except Jesus. This (interpretation, however,) is refuted by the story of Jurayj and other (stories).[969]

It has been mentioned in (the sound tradition of) the *Ṣaḥîḥ* that Muḥammad said: "This (Muslim) state will not cease to be until the Hour arises," or: ". . . until the (Muslims) have been ruled by twelve caliphs"—that is, from the Quraysh.[970] The facts suggest that some of them were at the beginning of Islam, and that some of them will be at its end. Muḥammad said: "The caliphate after me will last for thirty,[971] or thirty-one, or thirty-six (years)." It ends with the caliphate of al-Ḥasan and the beginning of the caliphate of Mu'âwiyah. The beginning of the rule of Mu'âwiyah is a caliphate only according to the original meaning of the word. He is the sixth of the caliphs. The seventh caliph is 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azîz. The remaining five (of the twelve caliphs mentioned in the tradition) are five of 'Alî's descendants, members of Muḥammad's family.

This is supported by (Muḥammad's) statement, "You are the possessor of its two periods (*qarn*)"—meaning (the two periods of) the nation (the beginning and the end). That is, you ('Alî) are the caliph at its beginning, and your descendants will be caliphs at its end. The tradition is often used

[968] Cf. pp. 205 ff., and 3:59, below.

[969] Cf. pp. 185 f., above.

[970] Cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 89, and related traditions in Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 194 f.; *Concordance*, I, 306*b*, ll. 7 ff.; II, 70*b*, ll. 1 ff.

[971] Cf. *Concordance*, II, 70*b*. Cf. also below, p. 285.

as evidence by those who believe in "the return" (of conditions).[972] The first (to return) is the person to whom they refer in connection with "the rising of the sun from the west." [973]

Muḥammad said: "When the emperor of the Persians has perished, there will be no Persian emperor after him, and when the Byzantine emperor has perished, there will be no Byzantine emperor after him. By God, I assure you, the treasures of both of them will be spent in God's behalf."—'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb spent the treasure of the Persian emperor in behalf of God. "He who will destroy the Byzantine emperor and will spend his treasures in God's behalf will be the expected (Mahdî) when he conquers Constantinople. The ruler of Constantinople will be an excellent one, and II, 170
the army (that will conquer Constantinople) will be an excellent one." [974] This was said by Muḥammad. "And the duration of his rule will be a few (years)." A "few" means between three and nine, or up to ten. Forty is also mentioned. In some recensions, it is seventy. "Forty" refers to the length of the period of (the Mahdî) and of the period of the four remaining caliphs of his family who will be in charge of his affairs after him—all of them be blessed.

He continued: The astrologers mentioned that the duration of his rule and that of the members of his family after him will be 159 years. The form of government will thus be a caliphate and a rule of justice for forty or seventy years. Then conditions will change, and (the form of government) will be royal authority. End of the quotation from Ibn Abî Wâṭîl.

In another passage, he said: "The final descent of Jesus will be at the time of the afternoon prayer, when three-fourths of the Muḥammadan day have passed."

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[972] As described above, p. 188.

[973] I.e., the Mahdî.

[974] For the traditions concerning the Muslim conquest of Constantinople, cf. M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal asiatique*, CCVIII (1926), 105 ff.; and, most recently, L. Massignon, "Textes relatifs à la prise de Constantinople," *Oriens*, VI (1953), 10–17. Cf. also above, 1:329.

He said: "Ya'qûb b. Isḥâq al-Kindî stated in the *Kitâb al-Jafr* [975] in which he mentioned the conjunctions: When the conjunction reaches Aries at the beginning of *ḍ-ḥ* [976]—that is, in the year 698 [1298/99] of the Hijrah—the Messiah will descend. He will rule the earth as it pleases God." [977]

He continued: "It has been stated in the tradition that Jesus will descend at the white minaret east of Damascus. He will descend between two yellowish colored ones, that is, two light saffron-yellow colored garments.[978] He will place his hands upon the wings of two angels. His hair is as long as though he had just been released from a dungeon. When he lowers his head, it rains, and when he lifts it up, jewels resembling pearls pour down from him. He has many moles on his face. Another tradition has: 'Square built
II, *171* and reddish white.' Still another has: 'He will marry in the *gharb*'—(the word) *gharb* meaning 'bucket as used by Bedouins.' [979] Thus, the meaning is that he will take a woman from among (the Bedouins) as his wife. She will bear his children."

(The tradition also) mentions that (Jesus) will die after forty years. It is (also) said that Jesus will die in Medina and be buried at the side of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb. And it is said that Abû Bakr and 'Umar will rise from the dead between two prophets (Muḥammad and Jesus).

Ibn Abî Waṭîl continued: "The Shî'ah say that he is the Messiah, the chief Messiah from the family of Muḥammad. Some of the (Shî'ah) referred to him the tradition: 'There is

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[975] Cf. p. 191, above, and pp. 218 f., below. For *jafr*, cf. D. B. Macdonald in *EI*, *s.v.* "Djafr."

[976] In the "western" numeration, *ḍ* is 90 and *ḥ* 8. *Kh*, 600, must be supplied.

[977] In *'Ibar*, III, 538, in connection with the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, Ibn Khaldûn remarks that al-Kindî accurately predicted the end of Arab power in the seventh decade of the seventh century. ("The 660's" may be a correction of the editor for "690's [?]" but see below, p. 218, where the middle of the seventh century is mentioned.)

[978] For the presumed meaning of the words in this tradition, cf. Majd-ad-dîn Ibn al-Athîr, *Nihâyah* (Cairo, 1322/1904), IV, 262.

[979] *Gharb* usually means "west," but is here interpreted according to another meaning, "large bucket."

no Mahdî except Jesus.' That is: There will be no Mahdî except the Mahdî whose relationship to the Muḥammadan religious law is like the relationship of Jesus to the Mosaic religious law, in that he follows it and does not abrogate it."

There are many similar such statements. The time, the man, and the place are clearly indicated in them. But the (predicted) time passes, and there is no slightest trace of (the prediction coming true). Then, some new suggestion is adopted which, as one can see, is based upon linguistic equivocations, imaginary ideas, and astrological judgments. The life of every one of those people is spent on such things.

Most of our contemporary Sufis refer to the (expected) appearance of a man who will renew the Muslim law and the ordinances of the truth. They assume that his appearance will take place at some time near our own period. Some of them say that he will be one of the descendants of Fâṭimah. Others speak about him (only) in general terms. We have heard that from a number of them. The greatest of these Sufis is Abû Ya'qûb al-Bâdisî, the chief saint of the Maghrib. He lived at the beginning of the eighth [fourteenth] century. His grandson, our colleague, Abû Zakarîyâ' Yaḥyâ, told me that on the authority of his father Abû Muḥammad 'Abdal- II, *172*
lâh, on the authority of his father, the mentioned saint Abû Ya'qûb.[980]

This is all we have read or heard about (such) discussions by those Sufis and all the information *ḥadîth* scholars relate concerning the Mahdî. As much as it has been in our power, we have presented the material exhaustively. The truth one must know is that no religious or political propaganda can be successful, unless power and group feeling exist to support the religious and political aspirations and to defend them against those who reject them, until God's will with regard to them materializes. We have established this before, with natural arguments which we presented to the reader.[981]

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[980] Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 371 f.; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldûn and Tamerlane* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1952), p. 36.

[981] Cf. 1:305 f., 320, and 322 ff., above.

The group feeling of the Fâṭimids and the Ṭâlibids, indeed, that of all the Quraysh, has everywhere disappeared. There are other nations, whose group feeling has gained the upper hand over that of the Quraysh. The only exception is a remnant of the Ṭâlibids—Ḥasanids, Ḥusaynids, and Ja'farites [982]—in the Ḥijâz, in Mecca, al-Yanbu', and Medina. They are spread over these regions and dominate them. They are Bedouin groups. They are settled and rule in different places and hold divergent opinions. They number several thousands. If it is correct that a Mahdî is to appear, there is only one way for his propaganda to make its appearance. He must be one of them, and God must unite them in the intention to follow him, until he gathers enough strength and group feeling to gain success for his cause and to move the people to support him. Any other way—such as a Fâṭimid who would make propaganda for (the cause of the Mahdî) among people anywhere at all, without the support of group feeling and power, by merely relying on his relationship to the family of Muḥammad—will not be feasible or successful, for the sound reasons that we have mentioned previously.

The common people, the stupid mass, who make claims
II, 178 with respect to the Mahdî and who are not guided in this connection by any intelligence or helped by any knowledge, assume that the Mahdî may appear in a variety of circumstances and places. They follow blindly the well-known (traditions) about the appearance of a Fâṭimid. They do not understand the real meaning of the matter, as we have explained it. They mostly assume that the appearance will take place in some remote province and at the limits of civilization, such as the Zâb in Ifrîqiyah or as-Sûs in the Maghrib. There are many people of weak intelligence who journey to a monastery (*ribâṭ*) at Mâssah [983] near as-Sûs. They assume that they (will be able) to meet him there, thinking that he

[982] I.e., descendants of 'Alî's brother Ja'far b. Abî Ṭâlib.
[983] Cf. 1:128, above.

will appear at that monastery and that the oath of allegiance will be rendered to him there. Also, that monastery is close to the Veiled Gudâlah, and they believe that (the Mahdî) will be one of them, or that they will be in charge of his propaganda. This is a conjecture that has no basis except the fact that these nations are strange ones and too remote (for others) to have a definite knowledge of their numbers and their weakness or strength. Also, the regions where they live are out of the reach of the (ruling) dynasties and outside of their authority. Therefore, (people) firmly imagine that the Mahdî will appear there, since these regions are not under the control of (ruling) dynasties and out of the reach of law and force. They have nothing else to go on except that. Many weak-minded people, therefore, go to that place (Ribâṭ Mâssah), in order to support a deceptive cause that the human soul in (its) delusion and stupidity leads them to believe capable of succeeding. Many of them have been killed.

Our *shaykh*, Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm al-Âbilî, told me that at the beginning of the eighth [fourteenth] century, during the reign of Sultan Yûsuf b. Ya'qûb,[984] a man who practiced Sufism came forth in the Ribâṭ Mâssah. He was known as at-Tuwayzirî, a gentilic formation from Tozeur (Tûzar), in the diminutive form. He claimed to be the expected Fâṭimid. Many of the Ẓanâgah [985] and Guzûlah inhabitants of as-Sûs followed him. His power grew and was about to flourish. The Maṣmûdah chiefs feared that he might become dangerous to their rule. Therefore, as-Saksîwî hired someone who killed him in his home, at night, and his power dissolved.[986] II, *174*

Likewise, in the last decade of the seventh [thirteenth] century, a man who had the name al-'Abbâs appeared among the Ghumârah. He claimed to be the Fâṭimid. He gained followers among the great mass of the Ghumârah. He entered Bâdis by force and burned down the business section of the city. Then, he traveled to the place al-Mazammah. There, he

[984] The Merinid [1286–1307].
[985] I.e., Ṣinhâjah. Cf. 1:128 (n. 112), above.
[986] Cf. 1:326 f., above.

was killed by deceit, and thus failed (to achieve his purpose).[987]

There are many things of the sort. Our afore-mentioned *shaykh* told me a strange story of this type. On his pilgrimage (to Mecca), upon leaving the Monastery of the Worshippers (Ribâṭ al-'Ubbâd),[988] which is the burial place of Shaykh Abû Madyan on the mountain overlooking Tlemcen, he met a man from Kerbela who belonged to the family of Muḥammad. He had many followers and was held in high esteem. He also had many pupils and servants. (The *shaykh*) said: People from his native town paid for his expenses in most countries. He said (further): We became good friends on the road, and it became clear to me what the matter was with (that man and his people). They had come from their home at Kerbela on behalf of the (Fâṭimid) business and in order to make propaganda for the Fâṭimid in the Maghrib. But when (the man) observed the Merinid dynasty, whose ruler Yûsuf b. Ya'qûb was at that time laying siege to Tlemcen,[989] he said to the men around him: "Go back, for we have fallen victim to an error. This is not our time." [990] This statement,
II, *175* coming from that man, shows that he realized that power can materialize only with the help of a group feeling equaling that of the people in power at the time. When he realized that he was a stranger without power in (the Maghrib), and that none of the inhabitants of the Maghrib at the time was able to resist the group feeling of the Merinids, he gave up, admitted his error, and did not pursue his ambitions. It still remained for him (to realize) that the group feeling of the Fâṭimids and all the Quraysh had disappeared, especially in the Maghrib. However, his bias in favor of his cause did not

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[987] Cf. 1:327, above.

[988] For al-'Ubbâd (El Eubbad), cf. p. 1:lii, above. For Abû Madyan, who died in 594 [1197/98], cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 317 ff.

[989] In 1299 and the following years. Cf. *'Ibar*, VII, 94 f.; de Slane (tr.), III, 375 f.; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca, 1949–50), II, 48.

[990] Ibn Khaldûn refers to this story again in the *Autobiography*, pp. 34 f. Cf. also Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar al-kâminah* (Hyderabad, 1348–50/1929–31), III, 288 f.

permit him to realize this. "God knows, and you do not know." [991]

In recent times there has been a movement among the Arab population of the Maghrib to make propaganda for the Truth and for living by the Sunnah, but which does not make propaganda for the Fâṭimid or anybody else. At times, a few individuals have aimed at re-establishing the Sunnah and changing reprehensible ways. Such individuals occupy themselves with this (purpose) and gain many followers. They are mostly concerned with the improvement of the safety of the roads, since most of the corruption of the Bedouins has something to do with that, on account of the way Bedouins make their livelihood, as we have mentioned before.[992] These individuals consider it their task to change reprehensible ways (among the Bedouins) through improving the safety of the roads as much as possible. However, the religious coloring cannot be firmly established in the Arabs. For them, repentance and return to the religion merely mean refraining from raids and robberies. That is the only thing they understand by repentance and becoming religious. (Raids and robberies) were the sins they committed before they repented, and these were the things of which they repented. Therefore, those who follow the (new religious) propaganda and live, as they think, by the Sunnah, are not deeply immersed in the different ways of seeking and following (religious models). Their religion is merely abstinence from robbery and injustice and from making the roads unsafe. Beyond that, they II, *176*
continue most eagerly to search for worldly goods and for ways of making a living. There is a great difference between looking for religious ethics and searching for worldly (goods). It is impossible that the two things could go together. No religious coloring can establish a hold over such people, and they cannot completely keep away from worthlessness. (Reformers) cannot ever become numerous. The chief differs from his followers in that religion and saintliness

[991] Qur'ân 2.216 (213), 232 (232); 3.66 (59); 24.19 (19).
[992] Cf. 1:302 ff., above.

are firmly established in him. If he perishes, their rule dissolves, and their group feeling disappears.

This happened in the seventh [thirteenth] century in Ifrîqiyah to a man of the Banû Ka'b of the Sulaym, by name Qâsim b. Marâ [993] b. Aḥmad. Later on, it happened to another man, of the Riyâḥ Bedouins, who belonged to one of the subtribes of the Riyâḥ, known as the Muslim. His name was Sa'âdah. He was more religious and devoted than the former (Qâsim). In spite of that, his followers were not successful, for the reasons mentioned. We shall mention (these events) in their proper places in connection with the discussion of the Sulaym and Riyâḥ.[994]

After that, there appeared (other) people to make such (religious) propaganda. They adopted similarly deceptive ideas. They followed the Sunnah in name only, but did not live by it, except for a very few. Neither they nor any of their successors had any success.

This is how God proceeds with His servants.

[52] *Forecasting the future of dynasties and nations, including a discussion of predictions* (malâḥim) *and an exposition of the subject called "divination"* (jafr).

It should be known that one of the qualities of the human soul is the desire to learn the outcome of affairs that concern
II, 177 (human beings) and to know what is going to happen to them, whether it will be life or death, good or evil. (This desire is) especially great with regard to events of general importance, and one wants to know, for instance, how long the world or certain dynasties are going to last. Curiosity in this respect is human nature and innate in human beings. Therefore, many people are found who desire to learn about these things in their sleep (through dreams). Stories of

[993] The vocalization in C may be Mirâ.

[994] Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 81 and VI, 38 f.; de Slane (tr.), I, 153 ff. and I, 81 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 334 f.

soothsayers being approached by rulers and commoners alike, with the request for predictions, are well known.

In the towns, we find a group of people who strive to make a living out of (predicting the future), because they know that the people are most eager to know it. Therefore, they set themselves up in the streets and in shops and offer themselves to (the people) who (wish to) consult them about (such things). All day long, the women and children of the town and, indeed, many weak-minded men as well, come and ask them to foretell the future for them, how it will affect their business, their rank, their friendships, their enmities, and similar things. There are those who make their predictions from sand writing (geomancy).[995] They are called "astrologers" (*munajjim*). Others make their predictions by casting pebbles and grains (of wheat). These are called "calculators" (*ḥâsib*).[996] Still others make their predictions by looking into mirrors and into water. They are called "drawers of circles" (*ḍârib al-mandal*).[997] These are reprehensible things, which are very common in cities. (They are reprehensible) because their reprehensible character is established by the religious law, and because supernatural knowledge is veiled (and hidden) from human beings, except for those to whom God Himself has revealed (certain supernatural knowledge) in (their) sleep or through sainthood.

Rulers and amirs who want to know the duration of their own dynasties show the greatest concern for these things and the greatest curiosity in this respect. Therefore, the interest of scholars has been directed to the subject of (predicting the duration of dynasties). Every nation has had its soothsayers, its astrologers, and its saints, who have spoken about things of this kind. (They have spoken) about a particular royal authority they were expecting, or a dynasty they felt was com- II, *178*

[995] Cf. 1:226 ff., above.

[996] Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, "Le Traité d'Ibn 'Abdûn," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), 217, 241, 263.

[997] Cf. 1:216 f., above.

ing. (They have also spoken) of wars and battles with (other) nations that were going to occur, about how long the ruling dynasty would last, how many rulers it would have, and they have also attempted (to give) the names. Things like this are called "forecasting" (*ḥadathân*).

The Arabs had soothsayers and diviners to whom they had recourse in this respect. They forecast the royal authority and dynasty the Arabs were going to have. Shiqq and Saṭîḥ thus interpreted the dream of the Yemenite ruler Rabî'ah b. Naṣr. (Their interpretation) informed the Yemenites that the Abyssinians would take possession of their country, which would later on revert to them. Next, Islam and the Arab dynasty would make their appearance. Saṭîḥ likewise interpreted a dream of the Môbedhân. The Persian emperor (Khosraw) had sent information about (that dream) to Saṭîḥ through 'Abd-al-Masîḥ. (Saṭîḥ) told him about the future appearance of the Arab dynasty.[998]

There were also soothsayers among the Berber race. The most famous of them was Mûsâ b. Ṣâliḥ of the Banû Yafran (Ifren), or of the Ghumart.[999] He made forecasts in poems in the native (Berber) idiom. (These poems) contain many forecasts. Most of them are concerned with the royal authority and rule over the Maghrib which the Zanâtah were going to obtain. They have had wide circulation among the Berbers. (The Berbers) have sometimes thought that Mûsâ was a saint. At other times, (they seem to think) that he was a soothsayer. In their self-deception, a few assert occasionally that he was a prophet, because they think that he lived long before the Hijrah. And God knows better. In this respect, (each) group used to base itself upon the information of prophets, when, as happened among the Israelites, any existed in its own time. Successive prophets (among the Israelites) told them similar things when bothered with questions.

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[998] Cf. 1:219, above.

[999] Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 106; VII, 51; de Slane (tr.), I, 205; III, 285. C indicates doubling of the *m* in Ghumart.

During the Muslim dynasty many such things occurred. (Some predictions) had reference to how long the world in general would last. Others had reference to a particular dynasty and its particular life. II, *179*

At the beginning of Islam, (predictions) were based upon statements reported on the authority of the men around Muḥammad and, especially, on that of Jewish converts to Islam such as Ka'b al-aḥbâr,[1000] Wahb b. Munabbih,[1001] and other such persons. Often, part of the relevant information was obtained from the explicit wording of the transmitted (statements) and permissible interpretations. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq and other members of the family of Muḥammad also made many such predictions. They based themselves, it would seem, upon removal (of the veil, *kashf*), which they enjoyed on account of (their) sainthood. Things of this sort are not unknown in (the experience of) other saints from among their people and descendants. Muḥammad said: "Among you there are men who are spoken to." [1002] They are the ones who are most deserving of their noble ranks and their gifts of divine grace.

After the early years of Islam, people applied themselves to the sciences and the (various) technical terminologies. The books of the (Greek) philosophers were translated into Arabic. The main basis for predictions now were astrological discussions. Matters concerning royal authority and dynasties and all other matters of general importance were considered as depending on the conjunctions of the stars. Nativities and interrogations and all other private matters were considered to depend on people's "ascendants"—that is, on the constellations of the firmament at the time when (these matters) were brought up.

We shall now mention what the traditionists have to say on this subject. Later on, we shall return to the astrological discussions.

[1000] Cf. 1:26, above.
[1001] Cf. J. Horovitz in *EI*, *s.v.*
[1002] Cf. 1:223 (n. 334), above.

With regard to how long Islam and the world in general will last, traditionists have at their disposal the material contained in the work of as-Suhaylî.[1003] As-Suhaylî derived it from aṭ-Ṭabarî. It leads to the conclusion that the world will last five hundred years after the coming of Islam. Since it has become obvious that this is not true, the theory has been demolished.

II, *180* Aṭ-Ṭabarî based himself in this respect on a statement reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, which says that this world constitutes a single week of the weeks of the other world.[1004] He did not bring any proof for it. The statement may possibly mean that this world is to be measured in days corresponding to the days of the creation of heaven and earth. They were seven, and each of them is a thousand years, according to the verse of the Qur'ân: "A day with your Lord is a thousand years as you count days." [1005] He said: Now, it is established in (the sound tradition of) the *Ṣaḥîḥ* [1006] that Muḥammad said: "Your term, as compared to the term of those who were before you, (will extend) from the afternoon prayer to sunset." [1007] He also said: "I and the Hour were sent like these two," [1008] and he pointed with the index finger and the middle finger. Now, the time between the afternoon prayer and sunset, when the shadow of every object becomes twice as long as (the object itself), is approximately one-half of one-seventh (of the day). And the middle finger is longer than the index finger by about the same amount (one-fourteenth). Consequently, the length of the duration (of the world after the coming of Islam) would be one-half of one-seventh of the whole week (of 7,000 years). This would be five hundred years. This figure is supported by the statement of Muḥammad, "God is indeed not unable to make this

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[1003] Cf. his *Rawḍ al-unuf* (Cairo, 1332/1914), II, 36 f.

[1004] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 8.

[1005] Qur'ân 22.47 (46).

[1006] Bulaq: "in the two *Ṣaḥîḥs*."

[1007] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 9; al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 372; III, 401; *Concordance*, I, 22*b*, ll. 24 f.

[1008] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 10 ff.; *Concordance*, I, 194*a*, ll. 20 ff.

nation last longer than half a day." [1009] This shows that the duration of the world before Islam was 5,500 years. On the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, it is stated that it was 5,600 years [1010]—that is, the period that had passed (before the coming of Islam). On the authority of Ka'b and Wahb,[1011] it is stated that the entire duration of the world is 6,000 years. As-Suhaylî said: "There is nothing in the two traditions to support his (aṭ-Ṭabarî's) interpretation (concerning the five-hundred-year duration of Islam), and what has actually happened has turned out to be different. The statement of Muḥammad, 'God is indeed not unable to have this nation last longer than half a day,' does not imply that a longer period than half a day is excluded. And his statement, 'I and the Hour were sent like these two,' refers to the closeness (of the Hour) and to the fact that there will be no other prophet and no other religious law (in the short time) between (Muḥammad) and the Hour." II, *181*

As-Suhaylî then turned to another source for determining the duration of Islam, in the hope that he might find the correct answer. He took the letters at the beginning of the *sûrahs*,[1012] disregarded repetitions, and thus found that there were fourteen letters, which can be arranged to form the sentence *'lm yṣṭ' nṣ ḥq krh*.[1013] He added up the numerical value of these letters, which comes to 903,[1014] to be added to the time which had already passed of the last millennium before the coming of (Muḥammad). (The total) then, was the length of the duration of Islam. As-Suhaylî said: "It is not unlikely that this is the information those letters were intended to convey."

I say: The fact that it is "not unlikely" does not imply

[1009] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 14 f.; *Concordance*, I, 32*a*, ll. 25 f.

[1010] Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 8, has 6,600. The preceding figure is probably to be read as 6,500 and the following 6,000 as 7,000.

[1011] "And Wahb" is not found in Bulaq.

[1012] For the *ḥurûf al-muqaṭṭa'ah*, cf. 3:59, below.

[1013] Vocalized in the MSS as *A-lam yasṭi' naṣṣa ḥaqqin kuriha*.

[1014] This figure appears in as-Suhaylî and the MSS. It represents the numerical value of the letters according to the western system. The eastern system would give 693. Cf. p. 215, below.

that it is evident, or that it must be understood this way. As-Suhaylî was influenced by the story of the two sons of Akhṭab, one of the Jewish rabbis (who had contact with Muḥammad), which occurs in Ibn Isḥâq's *Sîrah*.[1015] These were Abû Yâsir and his brother Ḥuyayy. They had heard about the letters *'lm*, which belong to the letters at the beginning of the *sûrah*s, and interpreted them as indicating, by their numerical value, the length of the duration (of Islam). Their numerical value was seventy-one. They considered that (too) short a period, and Ḥuyayy went to the Prophet and asked him whether there were other such (letters). Muḥammad mentioned *'lmṣ*. (Ḥuyayy) asked for more, and Muḥammad mentioned *'lr*. Again, (Ḥuyayy) asked for more, and Muḥammad mentioned *'lmr*. (The numerical value of *'lmr*) was 271. (Ḥuyayy) considered that (too) long a period and said: "We are in confusion concerning your future, O Muḥammad. We do not know whether you have been given little or much (time)." Whereupon they (the Jews) left him. Abû Yâsir said to them: "How do you know? Perhaps he was given the total of the numerical value of all the letters, namely, 704 years." [1016] Said Ibn Isḥâq: "In consequence, the following verse of the Qur'ân was revealed: 'It contains
II, *182* clearly understood verses that are the mother of the book (and other ambiguous ones . . .).' " [1017]

This story does not prove that the duration of Islam can be estimated at that figure. The assumption that the letters refer to such figures (giving the duration of Islam) is neither natural nor rational. It is merely the result of the conventional and technical procedure which is called *ḥisâb al-jummal* (counting the numerical value of letters). It is, indeed, an old and well-known procedure, but the fact of the antiquity

[1015] Cf. Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1859–60), pp. 377 f.; and above, p. 191 (n. 966). Ibn Khaldûn reads the title of Ibn Isḥâq's work as *as-Siyar*, as also above, 1:401 (n. 245).

[1016] The sum of the four combinations of letters is 734 by the eastern system and 704 by the western one. The latter, as the older, was used in the text of the *Sîrah*. A, C, and D have 704, which in C and D is corrected to 743 (for 734?). Bulaq and, it seems, B, have 904.

[1017] Qur'ân 3.7 (5).

of a technical procedure does not make it conclusive evidence (for whatever one wants to prove by it). Furthermore, neither Abû Yâsir and his brother Ḥuyayy, nor any of the Jewish scholars for that matter, were the sort of men whose opinion with regard to such a matter (as the duration of Islam) could be considered proof of it(s being as they say). They were Bedouins of the Ḥijâz and did not know any crafts or sciences. They did not even know their own religious law, nor did they understand their own Scriptures and religion.[1018] They had picked up this (method of calculating by the numerical value of letters), just as the common people of every religious group pick it up. Thus, as-Suhaylî has no proof for his claims concerning (the duration of Islam).

For specific forecasts concerning particular dynasties, Islam has a general traditional basis in the tradition of Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamân,[1019] published by Abû Dâwûd through his *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ adh-Dhuhlî,[1020] on the authority of Sa'îd b. Abî Maryam,[1021] on the authority of 'Abdallâh b. Farrûkh,[1022] on the authority of Usâmah b. Zayd al-Laythî,[1023] on the authority of a son of Qabîṣah b. Dhu'ayb,[1024] on the authority of his father, who said: "Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamân said: 'By God, I do not know whether my companions have forgotten it or merely pretend to have forgotten it. By God, no leader of a disturbance who had three hundred or more (men) with him, up to the end of the world, was omitted by the Messenger of God. He mentioned

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[1018] Cf. pp. 245 f., below.

[1019] He died in 36 [656/57]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, II, 219 f.

[1020] He died between 252 and 257 [866–71]. Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, III, 415 ff.

[1021] Sa'îd b. al-Ḥakam, 144–224 [761/62–838/39]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IV, 17 f.

[1022] Born in 115 [733/34], he died in 175 [791/92]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 356 f.

[1023] He was born before 83 [702] and died in 153 [770]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, I, 208 ff.

[1024] Cf. *ibid.*, XII, 307. Ibn Ḥajar apparently has reference there to this tradition. He thinks that the son's name was Isḥâq b. Qabîṣah; cf. *Tahdhîb*, I, 247. Qabîṣah died between 86 and 89 [705–8], or in 96 [714/15]. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 346 f.

his name, the name of his father, and the name of his tribe.' " [1025]

Abû Dâwûd did not make any remarks critical of (this tradition). It has been mentioned before that Abû Dâwûd said in his *Epistle* that everything to which he did not append critical remarks in his book was all right.[1026] If (this tradition)
II, *183* is sound, it still is a general one. In order to explain its general meaning and to indicate what is not clearly expressed in it, one requires other traditions with good chains of transmitters.

The tradition occurs in works other than (Abû Dâwûd's) *Kitâb as-Sunan*, in another form. In the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s, there also occurs the following tradition of Ḥudhayfah, who said: "The Messenger of God stood up to give us a sermon. He did not omit anything, but talked about everything that would happen in his place here until the coming of the Hour. Some remember it, and some have forgotten it, (but) the men around him who (were present on that occasion) know it." [1027]

Al-Bukhârî's recension reads: "He did not omit, but mentioned everything down to the coming of the Hour."

The work of at-Tirmidhî includes the tradition of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said: "The Messenger of God said the afternoon prayer with us one day in the daytime. Then he stood up to give a sermon. He did not leave anything out, but informed us about everything that will happen down to the coming of the Hour. Some remember it, and some have forgotten it." [1028]

All these traditions must be referred to the traditions concerning the disturbances (of the Last Day) and the conditions governing it, as they are established in (the sound tradition of) the *Ṣaḥîḥ*. They do not refer to anything else. This is what is expected from the Lawgiver (Muḥammad)

[1025] Cf. Abû Dâwûd, *Sunan*, IV, 77 f., at the beginning of the Book on *fitan*.

[1026] Cf. p. 160, above.

[1027] The tradition appears in the Book on *qadar* in al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, IV, 253, and in the Book on *fitan* in Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 679.

[1028] Cf. at-Tirmidhî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 30.

when he speaks in such generalities. The additional information Abû Dâwûd supplies, and which he stands alone in transmitting, is unusual and not to be approved of. Moreover, the religious leaders hold different opinions concerning the personalities (mentioned by Abû Dâwûd). Ibn Abî Maryam said regarding Ibn Farrûkh that his traditions are not approved of. Al-Bukhârî said: "Some of his traditions are acknowledged, and others are not." Ibn 'Adî said: "His traditions are not to be retained."

Usâmah b. Zayd has traditions of his published in the two *Ṣaḥîḥs*, and he was considered reliable by Ibn Ma'în. However, al-Bukhârî published traditions of his only in order to support (the reliability of traditions). Yaḥyâ b. Sa'îd and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal considered him weak. Abû Ḥâtim said: "His traditions may be written down, but they may not be used as evidence."

The son of Qabîṣah b. Dhu'ayb is little known. II, *184*

Thus, the additional information occurring in Abû Dâwûd in connection with the tradition mentioned, is weak in all these respects, in addition to the afore-mentioned fact that it is unusual.

As a basis for specific forecasts concerning dynasties, one uses the *Kitâb al-Jafr*.[1029] People think that it contains information about all these things in the form of traditions or astro(logical predictions). They do not (think) beyond that, and they do not know its origin nor its basis. It should be known that the *Kitâb al-Jafr* had its origin in the fact that Hârûn b. Sa'îd al-'Ijlî,[1030] the head of the Zaydîyah, had a book that he transmitted on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq. That book contained information as to what would happen to the family of Muḥammad in general and to certain members of it in particular. The (information) had come to Ja'far and to other 'Alid personages as an act of divine grace and through

[1029] Cf. p. 194, above, and 3:474, below.

[1030] More commonly, his name is said to have been Hârûn b. Sa'd. He was a companion of Ibrâhîm b. 'Abdallâh b. Ḥasan. Cf. 1:411 f., and p. 167, above. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 314; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 6.

the removal (of the veil, *kashf*) which is given to saints like them. (The book was) in Ja'far's possession. It was written upon the skin of a small ox. Hârûn al-'Ijlî transmitted it on (Ja'far's) authority. He wrote it down and called it *al-Jafr*, after the skin upon which it had been written, because *jafr* means a small (camel or lamb). (*Jafr*) became the characteristic title they used for the book.

The *Kitâb al-Jafr* contained remarkable statements concerning the interpretation of the Qur'ân and concerning its inner meaning. (The statements in it) were transmitted on the authority of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq. The book has not come down through continuous transmission and is not known as a book as such. Only stray remarks unaccompanied by any proofs (of their authenticity) are known from it. If the ascription to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq were correct, the work would have the excellent authority of Ja'far himself or of people of his family who
II, *185* enjoyed acts of divine grace. It is a fact that Ja'far warned certain of his relatives about accidents that would occur to them, and things turned out as he had predicted. He warned Yaḥyâ, the son of his uncle Zayd, about his impending debacle, but he disobeyed him, revolted, and was killed in al-Jûzajân, as is well known.[1031] If acts of divine grace occur also to others, they should all the more occur to (members of Muḥammad's family), in view of their knowledge, their religion, the tradition of Muḥammad's prophecy (which they represent), and God's concern for the noble root (Muḥammad) which extends to partiality for its goodly branches.

Much of this material is reported among members of the family of Muḥammad, but it is not attributed to the *Jafr* (just mentioned). In the history of the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids), there is much of it. An illustration is the story reported by Ibn ar-Raqîq [1032] about a meeting between Abû 'Abdallâh ash-Shî'î and 'Ubaydallâh al-Mahdî, who was with

[1031] Cf. 1:410, above.

[1032] Cf. 1:9 (n. 19), above. The story is also reported by Ibn Ḥammâd, *Histoire des rois Obaidides*, ed. and tr. M. Vonderheyden (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Sér. III, Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, No. 2) (Algiers & Paris, 1927), pp. 22 f.

his father Muḥammad al-Ḥabîb.[1033] (Al-Mahdî and his father) discussed matters with (Abû 'Abdallâh) [1034] and sent the latter to Ibn Ḥawshab, their missionary in the Yemen. (Ibn Ḥawshab) ordered Abû 'Abdallâh to go to the Maghrib and spread (Fâṭimid) propaganda there. He did so in the knowledge that the ('Ubaydid-Fâṭimid) dynasty would materialize in (the Maghrib). Later on, when 'Ubaydallâh was building al-Mahdîyah in Ifrîqiyah and their dynasty was flourishing, he said: "I am building this city so that the Fâṭimids may find protection in it for one hour of a (certain) day," and he showed the (people around him) the place within the city where "the Man of the Donkey" would stop. ('Ubaydallâh's) grandson Ismâ'îl al-Manṣûr heard of this story, and when "the Man of the Donkey," Abû Yazîd, came to besiege him in al-Mahdîyah,[1035] al-Manṣûr always inquired where he had last stopped. Eventually, he was informed that Abû Yazîd had reached the place his grandfather 'Ubaydallâh had indicated. Now, he was sure of victory. He went out of the town, routed (Abû Yazîd), and pursued him as far as the region of the Zâb, where he defeated and killed him. (The 'Alids) have many such stories to tell.

Astrologers, in making forecasts concerning dynasties, base themselves upon astrological judgments. For matters of general importance such as royal authority and dynasties, they use the conjunctions, especially those of the two superior planets. The superior planets, Saturn and Jupiter, are in conjunction once every twenty years. After twenty years, their conjunction reoccurs in another sign of the same triplicity [1036] (but) in trine dexter,[1037] and again (twenty years II, *186*

[1033] This is according to the genealogy that Ibn Khaldûn attributes to the Fâṭimids in accordance with his sources. Cf. *'Ibar*, IV, 31; de Slane (tr.), II, 506. Cf. Ibn Ḥammâd, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Modern scholars usually prefer a different 'Alid genealogy for the Fâṭimids, but no certainty is possible in this connection.

[1034] In the sense of "they gave him advance information. . . ."

[1035] In 333/34 [945]. Abû Yazîd died in 336 [947].

[1036] That is, one of the four groups of three signs into which the zodiac is divided. Each of the three signs are 120° apart and have the same "nature."

[1037] I.e., as shown in the following, moving backward through the zodiac.

later) in another (sign). This is repeated in the same triplicity twelve times. It takes sixty years (for three conjunctions) in the three signs (of the first triplicity), and another sixty years each for a second, third, and fourth time. The twelve repetitions in the triplicity, with four recurrences, thus take 240 years. The movement (of the conjunction) in each sign is toward the trine dexter. It moves on from the one triplicity into the adjacent triplicity, that is, into the sign that is adjacent to the sign of the triplicity in which the conjunction had last taken place.

The conjunctions of the two superior planets are divided into great, small, and medium.[1038] The great conjunction is the meeting of the two superior planets in the same degree of the firmament, which reoccurs after 960 years. The medium conjunction is the conjunction of the two superior planets in each triplicity with its twelve repetitions; after 240 years, they move on to another triplicity. The small conjunction is the conjunction of the two superior planets in the same sign; after twenty years, they have a conjunction in another sign in trine dexter at the same degree and minute. For instance, if the conjunction occurs in the first minute of Aries, it will reoccur after twenty years in the first minute of Sagittarius,
II, *187* and then again after twenty years in Leo.[1039] All the (signs) mentioned are fiery, and all the conjunctions are small ones.

The conjunction then reoccurs in the beginning of Aries after sixty years. This is called "the cycle of the conjunction" or "the reoccurrence of the conjunction." After 240 years, (the conjunction) moves on from the fiery (triplicity) to the earthy (triplicity), which comes after (the fiery one). This, then, is the medium conjunction.

Then, the conjunction moves on to the airy and watery triplicities, and then reoccurs in the beginning of Aries after 960 years. This, then, is the great conjunction.

[1038] Cf. O. Loth in his edition of al-Kindî's *Risâlah* in *Morgenländische Forschungen* (Festschrift H. L. Fleischer), pp. 268 f.; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti* (Rome, 1939–48), V, 14.

[1039] Bulaq: "in the first minute of Leo."

The great conjunction indicates great events, such as a change in royal authority or dynasties, or a transfer of royal authority from one people to another. The medium conjunction (indicates) the appearance of persons in search of superiority and royal authority. The small conjunction (indicates) the appearance of rebels or propagandists, and the ruin of towns or of their civilization.

In between these conjunctions, there occurs the conjunction of the two unlucky planets (Saturn and Mars) in the sign of Cancer once every thirty years. It is called *ar-râbi'* (the fourth).[1040] The sign of Cancer is the ascendant of the world. It is the detriment [1041] of Saturn and the dejection [1042] of Mars. This conjunction strongly indicates disturbances, wars, bloodshed, the appearance of rebels, the movement of armies, the disobedience of soldiers, plagues, and drought. These things persist, or come to an end, depending on the luck or ill luck (prevailing) at the time of conjunction of (the two unlucky planets), as determined by the direction of the significator in it.

Jirâsh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥâsib [1043] said in the book that he composed for Niẓâm al-Mulk: "The return of Mars to Scorpio has an important influence upon the Muslim religious group, because it is its significator. The birth of the Prophet took place when the two superior planets were in conjunction in the sign of Scorpio. Whenever the conjunction reoccurs there, trouble is brewing for the caliphs. There is much illness among scholars and religious personalities, and their conditions are reduced. Occasionally, houses of worship are de- II, *188*
stroyed. It has been said that the conjunction occurred at the deaths of 'Alî, of the Umayyad Marwân, and of the 'Abbâsid al-Mutawakkil. If such judgments are taken into considera-

[1040] Cancer being the fourth sign of the zodiac.

[1041] *Detrimentum:* the position of a planet opposite (180° from) its own house; in the case of Saturn, Aries.

[1042] *Dejectio, casus:* the position of a planet when it is of least influence, in opposition to its point of greatest influence or exaltation.

[1043] When this otherwise unknown author lived is determined as the eleventh century by the reference to Niẓâm al-Mulk, d. 485 [1092]. The form of his name is not certain. C consistently has *J* as the first letter.

tion, together with the judgments based upon the conjunctions, they are exceedingly reliable."

Shâdhân al-Balkhî [1044] mentioned that Islam would last 310 years. This has proved to be wrong.

Abû Ma'shar [1045] said: "(Islam) will have many differences after the 150's." This was not correct.

Jirâsh said: "I have seen in the books of the ancients that the astrologers informed Khosraw that the Arabs would gain royal authority and the prophecy (of Muḥammad) would appear among them. The significator of the Arabs is Venus, which was then in its exaltation. The royal authority of the Arabs would last forty years."

Abû Ma'shar said in the *Book of Conjunctions:* "When the section [1046] reaches the twenty-seventh (degree) [1047] of Pisces,

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[1044] The computation of Islam's duration referred to in this passage appears in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahânî, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt (St. Petersburg & Leipzig, 1844–48), I, 153–55; (tr.), pp. 123 ff. Ḥamzah reports a discussion between Shâdhân b. Baḥr, with the gentilic of al-Kirmânî, and Abû Ma'shar.

Abû Sa'îd Shâdhân b. Baḥr is known from a book of "Discussions," *Mudhâkarât*, containing astrological material provided mainly by his teacher, Abû Ma'shar. An Arabic MS of the work is listed in *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 395. Cf., further, Ṣâ'id al-Andalusî, *Ṭabaqât al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, No. 28) (Paris, 1935), p. 111. Ṣâ'id is quoted by al-Qifṭî, *Ta'rîkh al-ḥukamâ'*, ed. Müller-Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 242, and by Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyûn al-anbâ'*, ed. Müller (Königsberg & Cairo, 1882–84), I, 207, l. 12. Cf. *Rasâ'il Ikhwân aṣ-ṣafâ'* (Cairo, 1347/1928), IV, 325;* F. Rosenthal, in *JAOS*, LXXXIII (1963), 454.

There also exists a Latin translation of the *Mudhâkarât*. Attention was called to it and to the Arabic original by M. Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXV (1871), 415 f.; *idem*, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un'opera inedita di Bernadino Baldi* (Rome, 1873), p. 14; C. A. Nallino, *al-Battânî sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum* (Pubbl. del R. Osservatorio di Brera in Milano, No. 40) (Milan, 1903), I, xxv f. The Latin translation was recently used by L. Thorndike in *Isis*, XLV (1954), 22–32, showing the importance of the work. Cf. also *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, V (Brussels, 1904), 142 ff.; XII (Brussels, 1936), 101; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 101 f.

[1045] Ja'far b. Muḥammad, born *ca.* A.D. 788, d. 272 [886]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 221; *Suppl.*, I, 394. One would have to see the context of the statement quoted, to discover why he made a "prediction" concerning a time considerably before his birth.

[1046] *Qismah* is explained by de Slane as the crossing of a planet or a star that is a significator into the "field" (see n. 1049) of another planet.

[1047] Cf. n. 1050, below. It should be "eighteenth."

in which Venus has its exaltation, and when, at the same time, the conjunction occurs in Scorpio, which is the significator of the Arabs, then the Arab dynasty will make its appearance, and there will be a prophet among them. The power and duration of his rule will correspond to the remaining degrees of the exaltation of Venus—that is, approximately eleven degrees of the sign of Pisces. That will be a period of 610 years. Abû Muslim [1048] appeared when Venus moved on, and the section occurred in the beginning of Aries, with Jupiter ruling the field." [1049]

Ya'qûb b. Isḥâq al-Kindî said that Islam would last 693 years; he said, "because in the conjunction that dominates Islam, Venus was in 28° 42′ [1050] of Pisces. The remainder, II, *189* thus, was 11° 18′. There are sixty minutes to the degree. Thus, it will be 693 years." He said (further): "This is the duration of Islam as generally agreed upon by the philosophers. The figure is supported by the letters that occur at the beginning of certain *sûrahs*, if one omits the repetitions and counts the numerical value of the letters." I say: This is what was mentioned by as-Suhaylî. The most likely assumption is that al-Kindî was as-Suhaylî's source for the remarks we reported on as-Suhaylî's authority.[1051]

Jirâsh said: "The sage Hurmuzdâfrîd [1052] was asked about the duration of the rule of Ardashîr and his children, the Sassanian rulers. He replied: 'The significator of his rule is Jupiter. Jupiter was in exaltation (when Ardashîr appeared). Thus, Jupiter gives (the Sassanians) the longest and best years, that is, 427. Then, Venus will rule and be in exalta-

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[1048] He paved the way for the 'Abbâsids by whom he was killed in 137 [755].

[1049] *Ḥadd*, Persian *marz*, is usually translated as "border." It is explained as the "field" of a sign of the zodiac—one of the five unequal parts into which each sign is divided, one for each planet. Cf. al-Khuwârizmî, *Mafâtîḥ al-'ulûm* (Cairo, 1349/1930), p. 132. Cf. also n. 1056, below.

[1050] Bulaq has 28° 30′. However, the correct figure is 18° 27′ (cf. Loth in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, p. 294), so that there remain 11° 33′ = 693′ to the end of Pisces.

[1051] Cf. pp. 205 ff., above.

[1052] C vocalizes *ifrîd*, in keeping with Arabic vowel schemes.

tion. Venus signifies that the Arabs will come to power,[1053] because the ascendant of the conjunction is Libra, and it is ruled by Venus, which, at the time of the conjunction, will be in exaltation. This indicates that (the Arabs) will rule 1,060 years."

Khosraw Anôsharwân asked his wazir, the sage Buzurjmihr, about the transfer of royal authority from the Persians to the Arabs. Buzurjmihr informed him that the founder of Arab rule would be born in the forty-fifth year of his reign. He would take possession of the East and the West. Jupiter would turn over the rule to Venus, and the conjunction would move on from the airy (triplicity) into Scorpio, which belongs to the watery (triplicity). (Venus) is the significator of the Arabs. All the indications mentioned imply that Islam will have a duration corresponding to the period of Venus, that is, 1,060 years.

Khosraw Aparwêz asked the sage Ulyûs [1054] about the same matter, and Ulyûs gave a reply similar to that which Buzurjmihr had given (to Khosraw Anôsharwân).

Theophilus,[1055] the Byzantine astrologer of the Umayyad
II, *190* period, said that the Muslim dynasty would have the duration of the great conjunction, that is, 960 years. When the conjunction occurs again in the sign of Scorpio, as it had at the beginning of Islam, and when the position of the stars in the conjunction that dominates Islam has changed, it will be less effective, or there will be new judgments that will make a change of opinion necessary.

Jirâsh said: "They are agreed that the destruction of the world will come through water and fire. Water and fire will gain preponderance until all created things have perished. This will take place when Regulus crosses 24°, (thus enter-

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[1053] Bulaq has a simplifying correction: "Venus is the significator of the Arabs, who will then come into power."

[1054] This is the Arabicizing vocalization of C. The name might be Elias or, perhaps, Leon.

[1055] Al-Qifṭî, *Ta'rîkh al-ḥukamâ'*, p. 109, places him in the time of the 'Abbâsid al-Mahdî. Ibn Khaldûn reads his name as Nawfîl.

ing) the field of Mars.[1056] This will be the case after 960 years have passed."

Jirâsh mentioned that among other gifts, the ruler of Zâbulistân—that is, Ghaznah—sent his sage Dhûbân to al-Ma'mûn. (Dhûbân) made for al-Ma'mûn astrological elections that favored al-Ma'mûn's going to war against his brother and appointing Ṭâhir as commander-in-chief. Al-Ma'mûn thought highly of (Dhûbân's) wisdom, and asked him how long the ('Abbâsid) rule would last. (Dhûbân) informed him that the children of his brother (al-Mu'taṣim), and not his own descendants, would rule, and that the non-Arab Daylam would gain control over the caliphate. At first they would exercise good government, for fifty years. Then, their condition would deteriorate. Eventually, the Turks would make their appearance from the northeast. Their rule would extend to Syria and the Euphrates.[1057] They would conquer the Byzantine territory. Then, there would happen what God would want to happen. Al-Ma'mûn asked (Dhûbân) where he got his information from, and (Dhûbân) replied that he had it from the books of the philosophers and from the astrological judgments of the Indian Ṣaṣṣah b. Dâhir, the inventor of chess.[1058]

I say: The Turks to whose appearance after the Daylam (Dhûbân) referred, are the Saljûqs. The (Saljûq) dynasty was destroyed at the beginning of the seventh [thirteenth] century.

Jirâsh said: "The conjunction will move on into the watery triplicity in the sign of Pisces in the year 833 of the era of Yazdjard.[1059] From there, it will move on to the sign of II, *191*

[1056] Thus, the field of Mars would extend from 24° to the end of the sign, or six degrees, which would be exactly one fifth of the whole sign. Cf. n. 1049, above.

[1057] Bulaq adds: "and the Oxus."

[1058] Cf., for instance, F. M. Pareja Casañas, *Libro del Ajedrez* (Publicaziones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Serie A, No. 8) (Madrid & Granada, 1935), I, 10 (text); I, 9 (tr.).

For Dhûbân and al-Ma'mûn, cf. Maskawayh, *Jâwîdhân Khiradh*, pp. 19–22.

[1059] Begun in 632.

Scorpio—where there had occurred the conjunction under which Islam (originated) [1060]—in the year (8)53." He said: "(The conjunction) in Pisces is the beginning of the movement,[1061] and the conjunction in Scorpio will produce the indications applying to Islam." He said: "The revolution of the first year of the first conjunction in the watery triplicity will be (completed) on Rajab 2, 868 [March 11, 1464]." [1062] He did not discuss this matter more fully.

With regard to individual dynasties, the astrologers base themselves on the medium conjunction and the constellation of the firmament when it takes place. In their opinion, it indicates the origin of a dynasty, its forms of civilization, the nations that will support it, the number and names of the rulers, the length of their lives, the sects and religions (that will be found in that dynasty), the customs of the rulers, and the wars they will wage. This was mentioned by Abû Ma'shar in his *Book of Conjunctions*. Such indications may (also) be derived from the small conjunction, if the medium conjunction indicates (such a course). The discussion of dynasties is thus derived from (these conjunctions).

Ya'qûb b. Isḥâq al-Kindî, astrologer to ar-Rashîd and al-Ma'mûn, composed a book on the conjunctions affecting Islam. The Shî'ah called the book *al-Jafr*, after the name of their own book, which is attributed to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq. In his book, al-Kindî is said to have made complete forecasts concerning the 'Abbâsid dynasty. He indicated that the destruction of (the 'Abbâsid dynasty) and the fall of Baghdad would take place in the middle of the seventh [thirteenth] century and that its destruction would result from [1063] the destruction of Islam.[1064]

[1060] Cf. p. 213, above.

[1061] Here, apparently, "movement" does not refer to the movement of the conjunction, but to the resulting upheaval from which important (favorable) results for Islam are expected.

[1062] Apparently, the Muslim calendar is meant here, though the author had just spoken about the era of Yazdjard.

[1063] Bulaq corrects to: "would entail."

[1064] Cf. p. 194 (n. 977), above.

We have not found any information concerning (al-Kindî's) book, and we have not seen anyone who has seen it. II, *192*
Perhaps it was lost with those books which Hûlâgû, the ruler of the Tatars, threw into the Tigris [1065] when the Tatars took possession of Baghdad and killed the last caliph, al-Musta'ṣim. In the Maghrib, there exists a fascicle considered to belong to (al-Kindî's) book. It is called the *Small Jafr*. But it is obvious that it was composed for the Banû 'Abd-al-Mu'min, for it mentions in detail the early Almohad rulers. The forecasts of the work are right with respect to the preceding period, and they are wrong for the later period.

In the 'Abbâsid dynasty, there were astrologers and books on forecasts after al-Kindî. One may compare the story reported by aṭ-Ṭabarî in the history of al-Mahdî on the authority of Abû Budayl, one of the followers of the dynasty. (Abû Budayl) said: [1066] "Ar-Rabî' and al-Ḥasan sent for me, when they were on an expedition together with ar-Rashîd during the days of (ar-Rashîd's) father (al-Mahdî). I came to them in the middle of the night. They had with them one of the 'dynasty books'—that is, (a book of) forecasts. The duration of al-Mahdî's reign was given in it as ten years. I said: 'This book will not remain unknown to al-Mahdî, and there have already passed (that many) years of his reign. When he sees (the book, it will be as bad as if) you (were to) announce his own death to him.' They asked me what might be done, and I called for the copyist 'Anbasah, a client of the family of Budayl, and said to him: 'Copy this leaf, and write forty instead of ten.' He did so, and, indeed, if I had not seen the ten on that leaf, and the forty on this one, I would not have doubted that it was the same (original leaf that formed part of the manuscript)."

Later on, works in poetry and prose and in *rajaz* verse dealing with forecasts concerning dynasties were written in considerable quantity. Much of it found its way into the hands

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[1065] Cf. p. 3:114 (n. 587), below.

[1066] Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, III, 496 f. Ar-Rabî' b. Yûnus was wazir and al-Ḥasan doorkeeper.

of the people. It is called "predictions" (*malâḥim*). Some of
II, 193 these works concern forecasts about Islam in general. Others are about particular dynasties. All of these works are attributed to famous persons. But there is nothing to support ascribing them to the persons on whose authority they are transmitted.

One such prediction work is the poem by Ibn Murrânah [1067] in the meter *ṭawîl* with the rhyme on *r*.[1068] It has a wide circulation among the people in the Maghrib. The common people think that it has to do with general forecasts, and they apply many of its forecasts to the present and the future. But our *shaykhs* informed us that it refers in particular to the Lamtûnah (Almohad) dynasty, since its author lived shortly before (the dynasty came to power). In (the poem), he mentioned that the Lamtûnah took Ceuta out of the hands of the clients of the Ḥammûdids [1069] and that they gained control of the Spanish shore.

Another prediction work in the hands of the inhabitants of the Maghrib is a poem called *at-Ṭubba'îyah*, which begins:

I feel happy,[1070] but not joyful.
A bird in captivity may also feel happy.
I do not (feel happy) because of something entertaining that I see,
But because I am remembering something.

(This poem) is said to contain about five hundred or a thousand verses. In it, (the poet) mentioned much about the Almohad dynasty, and he referred to the (expected) Fâṭimid and other things. It is obvious that it is a forgery.

Another prediction work in the Maghrib is a *zajal* "play-

[1067] Cf. 3:474, below.

[1068] MSS. A, B, C, and E add "which begins," and, with the exception of A, leave a blank space.

[1069] This happened in 476 [1083]. Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 186, 222; de Slane (tr.), II, 77, 155.

[1070] The emotion caused by music is meant here, which could be either joy or sadness. What is "entertaining" in the third verse is also to be understood as music.

poem" (*mal'abah*) [1071] which is attributed to a Jew. (The poet) mentioned in it the judgments of the conjunctions of the two superior, the two unlucky, and other planets for his time. He mentioned that he would die a violent death in Fez, and people think that that actually happened. (The poem) begins:

The color of that blue [1072] one leaves no choice.
O people, understand this indication!
The planet Saturn shows this mark
And has changed its whitish color,[1073] that meant well-being.
A blue sash instead of a (whitish) turban, II, *194*
And a blue cape instead of a (whitish) cloak.

At the end of (the poem, the poet) says:

Completed is this rhyming by a Jewish man,
Who will be hanged on a holiday at the river of Fez,
Until people come to him from the desert,
And he will be killed,[1074] O people, in a riot.[1075]

(The poem) comprises about five hundred verses. They are concerned with judgments based on the conjunctions referring to the Almohad dynasty.

Another Maghribî prediction work is a poem in the meter *mutaqârib* with the rhyme on *b*, which deals with forecasts concerning the Almohad Ḥafṣid dynasty in Tunis. It is attributed to Ibn al-Abbâr. The judge of Constantine, the great preacher, Abû 'Alî b. Bâdîs,[1076] who knew what he was saying and who was versed in astronomy, told me that this

[1071] For the *zajal* in general, cf. 3:454 ff., below, and for the *mal'abah* in particular, 3:468.

[1072] Apparently, the planet Saturn looks blue to the poet. The remaining words of the first verse, *fî ṣibgh dhâ l-azraq leshfih khiyârâ*, may possibly mean "forebode no good."

[1073] *Shuklah* refers to a color like white-and-red or dirty yellow.

[1074] *Wa-qatlû.*

[1075] *Al-ghazârah*, equated with Spanish *algazara* by R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 161.

[1076] Ibn Khaldûn tells us that he met this man in the Qarawîyîn Mosque in Fez in 761 [1359/60]. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 371; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldûn and Tamerlane*, p. 35.

Ibn al-Abbâr was not the *ḥadîth* expert and secretary who was killed by al-Mustanṣir.[1077] He was a tailor in Tunis, whose identity became confused with that of the *ḥadîth* expert. My father used to recite me verses from this prediction poem, and some of them have stuck in my memory. (The poem) starts:

Let my excuse be a fickle time,
Which deceives (people) with its flashing, toothy (smile).

(Other verses of the poem,) mentioning al-Liḥyânî, the ninth Ḥafṣid ruler,[1078] are:

He will send a leader from his army,
And he will remain there on a lookout.
News about him will reach the *shaykh*,
And he will advance like a mangy camel.
The justice of his ways will become apparent.
That is the policy of a person who knows how to attract others.

(Other verses of the poem) deal with general conditions in Tunis:

II, *195*

Do you not see that institutions have been wiped out
And the rights of persons of position are not observed?
Therefore, start leaving Tunis!
Say good-bye to its familiar places, and go!
Disturbances will eventually take place there.
They will affect the innocent as much as the guilty.

In the Maghrib, I came across another prediction work concerning the Ḥafṣids in Tunis. The poem mentions the famous Sultan Abû Yaḥyâ (Abû Bakr), the tenth Ḥafṣid

[1077] The *ḥadîth* expert and historian, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallâh b. al-Abbâr, was born in Spain in *595* [1198/99] and killed by al-Mustanṣir in Tunis in *658* [1260]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 340 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 580 f.

[1078] Cf. pp. 101 f., above. According to de Slane, the poem does not refer to the inglorious end of Ibn al-Liḥyânî's reign, but to its promising beginning. It was then that he defeated his brother Abû l-Baqâ' Khâlid, who had been slow ("like a mangy camel") to take measures against him.

ruler, and it mentions as his successor his brother Muḥammad. (The poet) says:

> And afterwards, Abû 'Abd-al-Ilâh,[1079] his brother,
> Who will be known as al-Waththâb . . .

(Thus it is found) in the original manuscript.[1080] However, the person mentioned did not succeed his brother as ruler of Tunis, though it was his ambition to become ruler until he died.

Another Maghribî prediction work is a "play-poem" attributed to al-Hawshinî. It is written in the vulgar language, in the "local meter." [1081] It begins:

> Leave me alone, O my incessant tears.
> The rains have slowed down, but you have not.
> All the rivers are full.
> But you continue to fill and become like a pool [?].
> The whole country is wet,
> And you know how (bad) are the times.
> The summer and the winter have gone by [?],
> And the fall and the spring are passing.
> They [1082] replied, seeing that the claim (to be sad) was sound:
> Let me weep! Who could give me an excuse (not to weep)!
> Oh, look at these times.
> This period is a difficult and bitter one.

It is a long (poem), which the common people of Morocco know by heart. It is most likely a forgery, because nothing that is said in it is correct, unless it is provided with a twisted interpretation by the common people, or with a fanciful one by the educated people who accept the poem.

In the East, I came across a prediction work attributed to

[1079] *'Abd-al-Ilâh* is used instead of 'Abdallâh because of the meter.

[1080] This sentence is written in the MSS as if it were part of the last, incomplete verse.

[1081] Cf. 3:466, below.

[1082] I.e., the tears.

II, *196* Ibn al-'Arabî al-Ḥâtimî.[1083] It consists of a long, enigmatic discussion. Its interpretation is known only to God. The work is interspersed with magic squares, mysterious hints, complete outlines of animals, separate heads, and strange representations of two animals.[1084] It contains at the end a poem rhyming on *l*. The most likely assumption is that the whole work is incorrect, because it has no scientific basis, astrological or otherwise.

I [1085] heard some distinguished [1086] people in Egypt transmit a remarkable statement from a prediction work by Ibn al-'Arabî. The work may be different from the one (just mentioned). Ibn al-'Arabî speaks about the horoscope of the foundation of Cairo. According to that horoscope, he gives the city a duration of 460 years, which would take us down to the 830's [1426–35]; for, if we convert the 460 years, which are solar years, into lunar years, figuring three years more for each century, we shall have to add altogether fourteen years. Thus, it would come to 474 years, which have to be added to 358 [969], the year Cairo was founded. That would take us to the year 832 [1428/29]. Consequently, (Cairo will be destroyed at that time) if the statement by Ibn al-'Arabî is correct and the astrological indications are true.

An [1087] Egyptian whose knowledge I trust mentioned to me on the authority of Ibn al-'Arabî's prediction work, that (the years are to be figured) from the 320's, or 303, or 313, or 320. And God knows better about all this.

I have also heard that in the East there are other prediction works. They are attributed to Avicenna and Ibn 'Aqb.[1088]

[1083] Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 800, No. 146*b*.

[1084] Such as, for instance, the snake and the lion found on the talisman called "the Lion Seal." Cf. 3:163 below.

[1085] The following paragraph is not found in Bulaq or E, and is still a marginal addition in C, but appears in the text of the other MSS.

[1086] In this case, people with esoteric knowledge.

[1087] This paragraph is added in the margin of C and appears in the text of D. The dates in this passage refer to early attempts by the Fâṭimids to conquer Egypt.

[1088] Cf. I. Goldziher, "Ibn abi-l-'Aḳb," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXV (1921), 57–59, 292. Goldziher also mentions some MSS ascribed to this person. The Istanbul MS. Köprülü II, 168, is ascribed to him in the catalogue, but the text does not mention his name.

They contain no indication whatever that (their contents) are correct, because (correct predictions) can be derived only from astral conjunctions.

The [1089] prediction works by Ibn Abî l-'Aqb are not authentic. In the biography of Ibn al-Qirrîyah, Ibn Khallikân quotes from the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* to the effect that Ibn Abî l-'Aqb—that is, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallâh b. Abî l-'Aqb— II, *197*
belongs to things that are well known but have no outside existence, such as Majnûn Laylâ and Ibn al-Qirrîyah.[1090] And God knows better.

In the East, I further came across a prediction work with forecasts concerning the Turkish dynasty. The work is attributed to a Sufi called al-Bâjarbaqî.[1091] The whole is a letter puzzle. It starts as follows:

If you want to discover the secret of *al-jafr*, O my intimate,
The science of the best of legatees, the father of al-Ḥasan,[1092]
Be understanding and comprehend letters and their numerical value,
And the description, and act as a clever and intelligent person would act.
I shall not mention what was before my age.
But I shall mention the time that will come.

[1089] This paragraph is likewise an addition of C and D.

[1090] Cf. Ibn Khallikân, *Wafayât al-a'yân*, tr. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1843–71), I, 241; Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî, *Kitâb al-Aghânî* (Bulaq, 1285/1868), I, 169; (Cairo, 1345——/1927——), II, 9. For Ibn al-Qirrîyah, whose name is said to have been Ayyûb b. Zayd, cf. also H. M. Leon in *Islamic Culture*, II (1928), 347–59. For the legendary poet Majnûn Laylâ, cf. *GAL*, I, 48; *Suppl.*, I, 81.

[1091] For al-Bâjarbaqî, cf. pp. 229 f., below, where a large part of his poem is repeated from another source, with a good many variants. The place from which al-Bâjarbaqî derived his name is vocalized Bâjurbaq by Yâqût, *Mu'jam al-buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1866–73), I, 453. However, the vocalization in C and D shows *a* for the second syllable.

The poem is incomprehensible to me, but a thorough study of the time of Baybars might make it possible to unravel its mysteries, although Ibn Khaldûn himself was rather skeptical.

[1092] That is, 'Alî, who, according to the Shî'ah, was appointed Muḥammad's successor by the Prophet's last will.

Baybars will be given a *ḥ* to drink after the five of them,[1093]
And a *ḥ-m* with restlessness, sleeping in blankets [mountain dens?].

Further verses are:

A *sh*, which has a trace (of something) under its navel,
Has the power (to decide), the power, that is, of a benign person.
And Egypt and Syria, together with the land of the 'Irâq, belong to him,
And Azerbaijân, as his realm, down to the Yemen.

Further verses are:

And the family of Nawwâr, when its outstanding (man),[1094]
The intrepid, the sharp one, who is meant by the branch, obtained . . . [?]

Further verses are:

Remove a happy one [Sa'îd?], weak of age. An *s* has come,
Not a *l-'*, and a *q* and an *n*, which got stuck in a quiver.
Brave people who have intelligence and considered opinions
And will be given a *ḥ* to drink, and where then will be the owner of a branch?

Further verses are:

After a *b* of years, he will be killed.
The *m* of the realm, the eloquent one, will follow the disgraced one.
This is the lame Kalbite [?]. Be concerned with him!
In his time, there will be disturbances, and what disturbances!

[1093] The five letters of Baybars' name? The text below, p. 230, has "goblet" instead of "*ḥ*."

[1094] The nominative is indicated in C and D.

From the East, the Turkish army will come, which will be preceded by
A *q* free from [1095] the *q*, which will be attracted by the disturbances.
Before that—Woe until all Syria!
Show grief and mourning for the people and the country!
Behold, suddenly, alas, Egypt is shaken by an
Earthquake, which will remain unsettled for a year.
Ṭ, *ṭ*, and *'ayn* will all be held captive,
And they will perish, and he will spend money freely.
The *q* will send a *q* toward the most praiseworthy of them [their Aḥmad?]. II, *198*
Do not worry about him, for that fortress is strong.

Further verses are:

They will set up his brother, who is the best of them [their Ṣâliḥ?],
<*Lâm*,> *lâm-alif*, *sh* is repeated for that.

Further verses are:

Their rule will materialize with the *ḥ*. None
Of the sons will ever come close to the rule.

There is another verse, which is said to be a reference to al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Barqûq [1096] and the coming of his father to him to Egypt. It runs:

His father will come to him after an emigration
And a long absence and a hard and filthy life.

The poem has many verses. The likelihood is that it is a forgery. In ancient times, forgeries of poems of this type were numerous and widely practiced.

The historians of Baghdad report that in the days of al-Muqtadir, there lived in Baghdad a skillful copyist by the name of ad-Dâniyâlî.[1097] He gave leaves the appearance of being worn and wrote upon them in an ancient handwriting.

[1095] *Leg.* *'ârin*, instead of the *ghâzin* of the MSS.

[1096] Barqûq is added in C and D.

[1097] The source of the following story is Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil*, VIII, 85 f., *anno* 319 [931]. As shown by C, it did not belong to the earliest draft of the

In his (forgeries), he referred to the men of the dynasty, under letters from their names, and hinted at the high positions and ranks to which he knew they aspired. (He gave the impression) that (his forgeries) were prediction works. In this manner, he obtained from them the worldly goods that he was after. In one of the documents, he wrote an *m* repeated three times, and he went with the document to Mufliḥ, al-Muqtadir's client, who was an important official, and said to him: "This refers to you. It means *M*ufliḥ, the client (*m*awlâ) of al-*M*uqtadir." In this connection, he mentioned the government position to which, he knew, (Mufliḥ) aspired. For (Mufliḥ's benefit), he had invented telltale allusions from Mufliḥ's generally known circumstances. (Ad-Dâniyâlî) thus deceived (Mufliḥ), and (Mufliḥ) gave him a fortune. Later on, the wazir al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qâsim b. Wahb, who was out
II, *199* of office (at the time), got in touch with Mufliḥ.[1098] He had similar leaves prepared for him and referred to the name of the wazir with such letters and allusions fixed (beforehand). He said that (Ibn Wahb) would become wazir to the eighteenth caliph. Under his direction, the affairs (of the government) would be in order. He would defeat his enemies, and the world would be highly civilized in his time. (Ibn Wahb) let Mufliḥ see the leaves. He (had also) mentioned in them other events and predictions of the same kind, things that had already happened and others that had not yet happened. The whole he attributed to Daniel. Mufliḥ liked the work and let al-Muqtadir see it. Al-Muqtadir's attention was directed through all these allusions to Ibn Wahb, because they obviously fitted him. Tricks of this sort, which were completely based on falsehood and on ignorance of such puzzles, were the reason for (Ibn Wahb's) becoming wazir.

Muqaddimah. The story is repeated in *'Ibar*, III, 376. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, pp. 99 f.

[1098] Ibn Khaldûn says: *waḍa'ahû . . . 'alâ*, which might mean "had a falsification made through Mufliḥ," but this would seem forced. The translation follows Ibn al-Athîr's text, which suggests: *tawaṣṣala . . . ma'a*. Mufliḥ merely brings ad-Dâniyâlî in touch with Ibn Wahb, and is shown ad-Dâniyâlî's finished product by Ibn Wahb.

The name of the wazir appears as al-Ḥasan in A, B, C, and D.

It is obvious that the prediction work that is ascribed to al-Bâjarbaqî is a work of this kind.

I asked Akmal-ad-dîn,[1099] the *shaykh* of the non-Arab Ḥanafites in Egypt, about this prediction work and about the Sufi (author), al-Bâjarbaqî, to whom it is attributed, since he was informed about the Sufi orders. He said: "Al-Bâjarbaqî belonged to the Sufis known as Qalandarîyah, who practice the innovation of shaving their beards. He was talking about what was going to happen by means of the removal (of the veil, *kashf*), and was hinting at personalities whose identity he knew. He referred to them cryptically with letters that he made up freely. (He did this) for whomever of them he saw. Occasionally, he put that (material) into poetical form and from time to time produced a few verses. These verses were later on circulated in his name. People were eager to get them. They considered them an enigmatic prediction work. The verses were then constantly added to by forgers of this type, and the common people occupied themselves with trying to decipher them. But it is impossible to decipher them, because only previously known or established rules can lead to the decipherment of such puzzles. In this (particular case), the only clues to the meaning of the letters are in the poem itself." [1100] The statement quoted from so excellent a person (as Shaykh Akmal-ad-dîn) is to me an altogether adequate answer to the problem that, I felt, was posed by the prediction work of al-Bâjarbaqî. II, 200

"We would not be persons who are guided aright, had God not guided us." [1101]

Later on,[1102] I came across the *History* of Ibn Kathîr.[1103] It was in Damascus where I stopped with the Sultan's

[1099] Muḥammad b. Maḥmûd, who was born shortly after 710 [1310/11], and who died in 786 [1384]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 80 f.; *Suppl.*, II, 89 f. Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar al-Kâminah*, IV, 250, states on the authority of Ibn Khaldûn that Akmal-ad-dîn believed in the mystical doctrine of monism (*waḥdah*).

[1100] Bulaq adds: "and cannot be found outside."

[1101] Qur'ân 7.43 (44).

[1102] The following addition, containing the latest date mentioned in the *Muqaddimah*, is found only in C and D.

[1103] Ismâ'îl b. 'Umar, born shortly after 700 [1300/1301], died in 774

cavalcade in the year 802 [1400], at a time when I was chief Mâlikite judge in Egypt.

In the biography of (al-Bâjarbaqî) relative to the year 724 [1324], Ibn Kathîr says: "Shams-ad-dîn Muḥammad al-Bâjarbaqî. He is considered the founder of the unorthodox sect of the Bâjarbaqîyah, which is known for its denial of the Creator. (Al-Bâjarbaqî's) father, Jamâl-ad-dîn 'Abd-ar-Raḥîm b. 'Umar al-Mawṣilî, was a pious Shâfi'ite who taught in Damascus colleges. His son grew up among jurisconsults. He studied a little and then turned to mysticism. A group of people who believed in him and followed his order adhered to him. Later on, the Mâlikite judge condemned him to death, and he fled to the East. He then was able to prove that those who had testified against him were hostile to him, and the Ḥanbalite (judge) reversed the former judgment. (Al-Bâjarbaqî) remained in al-Qâbûn (near Damascus) for a number of years. He died during the night of Wednesday, Rabî' II, 16, 724 [night of April 11/12, 1324].

Ibn Kathîr says: Al-Bâjarbaqî composed a *jafr* poem which runs as follows: [1104]

Listen and comprehend letters and their numerical values,
And the description, and be understanding, like a clever and intelligent person.
The Lord of the heavens will tell, concerning Egypt and what is to be in Syria
Of good things and of tribulations.
II, 201 Baybars will be given a goblet to drink after the five of them,

[1373]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 49; *Suppl.*, II, 48 f. The reference is to his *Bidâyah*, XIV, 115. The poem, however, is not quoted there.

For al-Bâjarbaqî, who was born *ca.* 676 [1277/78], cf. also adh-Dhahabî, *Duwal al-Islâm* (2d ed.; Hyderabad, 1364–65/1945–46), II, 177; Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar al-kâminah*, IV, 12 ff.; al-Kutubî, *Fawât al-Wafayât* (Cairo, 1951–53), II, 444 f.; Ibn al-'Imâd, *Shadharât adh-dhahab*, VI, 64 f. Aṣ-Ṣafadî's article on him has now been published. Cf. aṣ-Ṣafadî, *Wâfî*, ed. S. Dedering (Damascus, 1953), III, 249 f.

[1104] Cf. p. 225, above.

And a *ḥ-m* with restlessness, sleeping in blankets [mountain dens?].
Alas, Damascus—what descended upon its territory!
They destroyed a mosque of God. How (beautifully) had it been constructed!
Woe unto it, how many acted wrongly with regard to the religion! How many did they kill!
How much blood, of scholars and lowly people, did they shed!
How much (noise) could be heard, and how many captives there were! How many did they rob
And then burn, of young men and old;
Existence is dark, and the land is blacked out.
Even the pigeons there mourn on the branches.
Oh, (poor) creatures, is there no helper for the religion?
Get up (all of you) and go to Syria, from the plains and the rugged hills!
The Arabs of the 'Irâq and of Lower and Upper Egypt are coming.
The firm resolution is to bring death to unbelief in (Damascus).

Chapter IV

COUNTRIES AND CITIES,[1]
AND ALL OTHER (FORMS OF) SEDENTARY
CIVILIZATION. THE CONDITIONS OCCURRING THERE.
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY (CONSIDERATIONS)
IN THIS CONNECTION.

[1] A and D add "and towns."

[1] *Dynasties are prior to towns and cities. Towns and cities are secondary (products) of royal authority.*

THE EXPLANATION FOR THIS is that building and city planning are features of sedentary culture brought about by luxury and tranquillity, as we have mentioned before.[2] Such (features of sedentary culture) come after Bedouin life and the features that go with it.

Furthermore, towns and cities with their monuments,[3] vast constructions, and large buildings, are set up for the masses and not for the few. Therefore, united effort and much co-operation are needed for them. They are not among the things that are necessary matters of general concern to II, 202
human beings, in the sense that all human beings desire them or feel compelled to have them. As a matter of fact, (human beings) must be forced and driven to (build cities). The stick of royal authority is what compels them, or they may be stimulated by promise of reward and compensation. (Such reward) amounts to so large a sum that only royal authority and a dynasty can pay for it. Thus, dynasties and royal authority are absolutely necessary for the building of cities and the planning of towns.

Then, when the town has been built and is all finished, as the builder saw fit and as the climatic and geographical conditions required, the life of the dynasty is the life of the town. If the dynasty is of short duration, life in the town will stop at the end of the dynasty. Its civilization will recede, and the town will fall into ruins. On the other hand, if the dynasty is of long duration and lasts a long time, new constructions will always go up in the town, the number of large mansions will increase, and the walls [4] of the town will extend farther and farther. Eventually, the layout of the town will cover a

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[2] Cf., for instance, 1:347, above.
[3] *Hayâkil.* Cf. n. 172 to Ch. 1, above.
[4] Bulaq: "the markets."

wide area, and the town will extend so far and so wide as to be (almost) beyond measurement. This happened in Baghdad and similar (cities).

The Khaṭîb mentioned in his *History* that in the time of al-Ma'mûn, the number of public baths in Baghdad reached 65,000.[5] (Baghdad) included over forty of the adjacent neighboring towns and cities. It was not just one town surrounded by one wall. Its population was much too large for that. The same was the case with al-Qayrawân, Córdoba, and al-Mahdîyah in Islamic times. It is the case with Egypt and Cairo at this time, so we are told.

The dynasty that has built a certain town may be destroyed. Now, the mountainous and flat areas surrounding the
II, 203 city are a desert [5a] that constantly provides for (an influx of) civilization (population). This (fact), then, will preserve the existence of (the town), and (the town) will continue to live after the dynasty is dead. (This situation) can be observed in Fez and Bougie in the West, and in the non-Arab 'Irâq in the East, which get their civilization (population) from the mountains. When the conditions of the inhabitants of the desert reach the utmost ease and (become most) profitable, (the situation thus created causes the inhabitants of the desert to) look for the tranquillity and quiet that human beings (desire) by nature. Therefore, they settle in towns and cities and form an (urban) population.

Or, it may happen that a town founded (by a dynasty now destroyed) has no opportunity to replenish its civilization (population) by a constant influx of settlers from a desert near the town. In this case, the destruction of the dynasty will leave it unprotected. It cannot be maintained. Its civilization will gradually decay, until its population is dispersed and gone. This happened in Baghdad, Egypt,[6] and al-Kûfah

[5] The reference seems to be to al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, I, 117, but Ibn Khaldûn probably quotes him indirectly. For the "Preacher of Baghdad," Aḥmad b. 'Alî, 392–463 [1002–1071], cf. *GAL*, I, 329; *Suppl.*, I, 562 ff.

[5a] Cf. our remarks on Ibn Khaldûn's use of this word, 1:lxxvii, above.

[6] Ibn Khaldûn was probably thinking of Fusṭâṭ.

in the East, and in al-Qayrawân, al-Mahdîyah, and Qal'at Banî Ḥammâd [7] in the West, as well as in other cities. This should be understood.

Frequently it happens that after the destruction of the original builders of (a town, that town) is used by another realm and dynasty as its capital and residence. This then makes it unnecessary for (the new dynasty) to build (another) town for itself as a settlement. In this case, the (new) dynasty will protect the town. Its buildings and constructions will increase in proportion to the improved circumstances and the luxury of the new dynasty. The life (of the new dynasty) gives (the town) another life. This has happened in contemporary Fez and Cairo.

This should be considered, and God's secret (plans) for His creation should be understood.

[2] *Royal authority calls for urban settlement.*

This is because, when royal authority is obtained by tribes and groups, (the tribes and groups) are forced to take possession of cities for two reasons. One of them is that royal authority causes (the people) to seek tranquillity, restfulness, and relaxation, and to try to provide the aspects of civilization that were lacking in the desert. The second (reason) is that rivals and enemies can be expected to attack the realm, and one must defend oneself against them. II, 204

A city situated in a district where (rivals of the dynasty) are found, may often become a place of refuge for a person who wants to attack (the tribes and groups in authority) and revolt against them and deprive them of the royal authority to which they have aspired.[8] He fortifies himself in the city and fights them (from there). Now, it is very difficult and troublesome to overpower a city.[9] A city is worth a great number of soldiers, in that it offers protection from behind

[7] Cf. n. 6 to Ch. III, above.

[8] *Samaw*, as vocalized in C, can scarcely be translated otherwise. "Which they have obtained" or "to which they have been raised" are hardly possible. Perhaps the text should read *yasmû* "to which he aspires."

[9] Cf. Bombaci, p. 449.

the walls and makes attacks difficult, and no great numbers or much power are needed. Power and group support are needed in war only for the sake of the steadfastness provided by the mutual affection (tribesmen) show each other in battle. The steadfastness of (people in a city) is assured by the walls of the city. Therefore, they do not need much group support or great numbers (for defense). The existence of a city and of rivals who fortify themselves in it thus eats into the strength of a nation desiring to gain control and breaks the impetus of its efforts in this respect. Therefore, if there are cities in the tribal territory of (a dynasty, the dynasty) will bring them under its control, in order to be safe from any weakening (of its power, should the cities fall under control of its rivals). If there are no cities, the dynasty will have to build a new (city), firstly, in order to complete the civilization of its realm and to be able to lessen its efforts, and, secondly, in order to use (the city) as a threat against those parties and groups within the dynasty that might desire power and might wish to resist.

II, 205 It is thus clear that royal authority calls for urban settlement and control of the cities.

"God has the power to execute His commands." [10]

[3] *Only a strong royal authority is able to construct large cities and high monuments.*

We have mentioned this before in connection with buildings and other dynastic (monuments).[11] (The size of monuments) is proportionate to the importance of (the various dynasties). The construction of cities can be achieved only by united effort, great numbers, and the co-operation of workers. When the dynasty is large and far-flung, workers are brought together from all regions, and their labor is employed in a common effort. Often, the work involves the help of machines, which multiply the power and strength

[10] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).

[11] Cf. 1:356 ff., above, where the contents of this section were dealt with before.

needed to carry the loads required in building. (Unaided) human strength would be insufficient. Among such machines are pulleys [12] and others.

Many people who view the great monuments and constructions of the ancients, such as the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Îwân Kisrâ*), the pyramids of Egypt, the arches of the Malga (at Carthage) and those of Cherchel in the Maghrib, think that the ancients erected them by their own (unaided) powers, whether (they worked) as individuals or in groups. They imagine that the ancients had bodies proportionate to (those monuments) and that their bodies, consequently, were much taller, wider, and heavier than (our bodies), so that there was the right proportion between (their bodies) and the physical strength from which such buildings resulted. They forget the importance of machines and pulleys and engineering skill implied in this connection. Many a traveled person can confirm what we have stated from his own observation of building (activities) and of the use of mechanics to transport building materials among the non-Arab dynasties concerned with such things. II, 206

The common people call most of the monuments of the ancients found at this time, ʿÂdite monuments, with reference to the people of ʿÂd. The common people think that the buildings and constructions of ʿÂd are so big because the bodies of (the ʿÂdites) were so big and their strength many times greater (than our strength). This is not so. We have many monuments of nations whose body measurements are well known to us. (These monuments) are as big or bigger than such (famed monuments) as, for instance, the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Îwân Kisrâ*) and the buildings of the Shîʿah ʿUbaydid(-Fâṭimids) in Ifrîqiyah, or those of the Ṣinhâjah, whose monument, still visible to this day, is the minaret of Qalʿat Banî Ḥammâd.

The same applies to the building (activity) of the

[12] Cf. also p. 363, below, Ibn Khaldûn read the word *mîkhâl*, which is to be connected either with μηχανή or μάγγανον, probably with the former. Cf. also *mukhl* "lever."

Aghlabids in the Mosque of al-Qayrawân, and of the Almohads in Rabat (Ribâṭ al-Fatḥ), and to the forty years building (activity) of Sultan Abû l-Ḥasan in al-Manṣûrah, opposite Tlemcen.[13] It also applies to the arches supporting the aqueduct by means of which the inhabitants of Carthage brought water to their city, and which are still standing at this time. There are also other buildings and monuments (*hayâkil*), the history of whose builders, whether ancient or recent, is known to us, and we can be certain that the measurements of their bodies were not excessive. This belief is founded solely upon (the tales of) storytellers who eagerly tell stories about the people of ʿÂd and Thamûd and the Amalekites. In fact, we find the houses of the Thamûd still existing at this time in Petra, where they are cut into the rock. It is established by (the sound tradition of) the *Ṣaḥîḥ* that those houses actually were theirs.[14] The Ḥijâzî (pilgrim) caravan has passed by them for very many years, and it has been observed that those houses are not larger than usual inside, nor in size and height (generally).

II, 207 In their belief that (the ancients had excessively large bodies, the storytellers) exaggerate so much that they believe that Og, the son of Anak, one of the Amalekites (or Canaanites),[15] used to take fish fresh out of the water and cook them in the sun. They have that idea because they think that the heat of the sun is greater close to it. They do not know that the heat of the sun here among us is its light, because of the reflection of the rays when they hit the surface of the earth and the air. The sun itself is neither hot nor cold. It is a star of an uncomposed (substance) that gives

[13] The Merinids started the building of al-Manṣûrah under Abû Yaʿqûb Yûsuf in 1299, and occupied it with interruptions down to 1339 and the years immediately following under Abû l-Ḥasan ʿAlî. Cf. G. Marçais in *EI*, *s.v.* "al-Manṣûra." Bulaq has "Abû Saʿîd [1310–31]" instead of the correct Abû l-Ḥasan. De Slane translated: "(about) forty years ago," which would be historically accurate, but is linguistically hardly possible.

[14] Cf. 1:359 (n. 113), above.

[15] C has "Canaan" written over "Amalekites," Cf. 1:358 (n. 110), above.

light. Something of this was mentioned before in the second chapter; there we mentioned that (the size of the monuments [16] of) dynasties is proportionate to their original power.

"God creates whatever He wishes." [17]

[4] *Very large monuments are not built by one dynasty alone.*

The reason for this is the afore-mentioned need for cooperation and multiplication of human strength in any building activity. Sometimes buildings are so large that they are too much for (human) strength, whether it is on its own or multiplied by machines, as we have (just) stated. Therefore, the repeated application of similar strength is required over successive periods, until (the building) materializes. One (ruler) starts the construction. He is followed by another and (the second by) a third. Each of them does all he can to bring workers together in a common effort. Finally, (the building) materializes, as it was planned, and then stands before our eyes. Those who live at a later period and see the building think that it was built by (but) a single dynasty. II, *208*

In this connection one should compare what the historians report about the construction of the Dam of Ma'rib. Its construction was (started by) Saba' b. Yashjub.[18] He caused seventy rivers to flow into it. Death prevented him from completing it, and it was then completed by the Ḥimyarite rulers who succeeded him.

Something similar has been reported with regard to the construction of Carthage, its aqueduct, and the ʿÂdite arches [19] supporting it. And the same is the case with most great buildings. This is confirmed by the great buildings of our own time. We find one ruler starting by laying out their

[16] Bulaq correctly supplied these words in the text.

[17] Qur'ân 3.47 (42), and similar passages.

[18] Cf., for instance, A. Grohmann in *EI*, *s.v.* "Ma'rib"; Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah*, II, 159.

[19] Cf. p. 239, above.

foundations. Then, if the rulers who succeed him do not follow in his steps and complete (the building), it remains as it is, and is not completed as planned.

Another confirmation of our theory is the fact that we find that (later) dynasties are unable to tear down and destroy many great architectural monuments, even though destruction is much easier than construction, because destruction is return to the origin, which is non-existence, while construction is the opposite of that.[20] Thus, when we find a building that our human strength is too weak to tear down, even though it is easy to tear something down, we realize that the strength used in starting such a monument must have been immense and that the building could not be the monument of a single dynasty.

This is what happened to the Arabs with regard to the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Îwân Kisrâ*). Ar-Rashîd had the intention of tearing it down. He sent to Yaḥyâ b. Khâlid, who was in prison, and asked him for advice. Yaḥyâ said: "O Commander of the Faithful, do not do it! Leave it standing! It shows the extent of the royal authority of your forefathers, who were able to take away the royal authority from the people who built such a monument." Ar-Rashîd, however, mistrusted Yaḥyâ's advice. He said that Yaḥyâ was motivated by his affection for the non-Arabs and that he
II, 209 (ar-Rashîd) would indeed bring it down. He started to tear it down and made a concerted effort to this effect. He had pickaxes applied to it, and he had it heated by setting fire to it, and he had vinegar poured upon it. Still, after all these (efforts), he was unable (to tear it down). Fearful of the disgrace (involved in his inability to demolish the monument), he sent again to Yaḥyâ and asked him for advice, whether he should give up his efforts to tear it down. Yaḥyâ replied: "Do not do that! Get on with it, so that it may not be said that the Commander of the Faithful and ruler of the Arabs was not able to tear down something that non-Arabs

[20] Cf. 1:356, above, and 3:278, below.

had built." Thus, ar-Rashîd recognized (his disgrace) and was unable to tear it down.[21]

The same happened to al-Ma'mûn in (his attempt) to tear down the pyramids in Egypt. He assembled workers to tear them down, but he did not have much success. The workers began by boring a hole into the pyramids, and they came to an interior chamber between the outer wall and walls farther inside. That was as far as they got in their attempt to tear (the pyramid) down. Their efforts are said to show to this day in the form of a visible hole. Some think that al-Ma'mûn found a buried treasure between the walls.[22] And God knows better.

The same applies to the arches of the Malga (at Carthage, which are still standing) at this time. The people of Tunis need stones for their buildings, and the craftsmen like the quality of the stones of the arches (of the aqueduct). For a long time, they have attempted to tear them down. However, even the smallest (part) of the walls comes down only after the greatest efforts. Parties assemble for the purpose. (They are) a well-known (custom), and I have seen many of them in the days of my youth.

"God has power over everything." [23]

[5] *Requirements for the planning of towns and the consequences of neglecting those requirements.* II, 210

Towns are dwelling places that nations use when they have reached the desired goal of luxury and of the things that go with it. Then, they prefer tranquillity and quiet and turn to using houses to dwell in.

The purpose of (building towns) is to have places for dwelling and shelter. Therefore, it is necessary in this connection to see to it that harmful things are kept away from

[21] Cf. 1:356, above.

[22] Cf. esp., E. Graefe, *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Maḳrîzî's "Ḫiṭaṭ"* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, V 5) (Leipzig, 1911), p. 59 and *passim*. Cf. also al-Mas'ûdî, *Akhbâr az-zamân* (Cairo, 1357/1938), p. 138.

[23] Qur'ân 2.20 (19).

the towns by protecting them against inroads by them, and that useful features are introduced and all the conveniences are made available in them.

In connection with the protection of towns against harmful things, one should see to it that all the houses of the town are situated inside a protective wall. Furthermore, the town should be situated in an inaccessible place, either upon a rugged hill or surrounded by the sea or by a river, so that it can be reached only by crossing some sort of bridge.[24] In that way, it will be difficult for an enemy to take the town, and its inaccessibility and fortress (character) will be increased many times.

In connection with the protection of towns against harm that might arise from atmospheric phenomena, one should see to it that the air where the town is (to be situated) is good, in order to be safe from illness. When the air is stagnant and bad, or [illegible] corrupt waters or putrid pools or swamps, it is speedily affected by putrescence as the result of being near these things, and it is unavoidable that (all) living beings who are there will speedily be affected by illness. This fact is confirmed by direct observation. Towns where no attention is paid to good air, have, as a rule, much illness. In the Maghrib, Gabès in the Jarîd, in Ifrîqiyah, is famous for that. Very few of its [illegible] those who come there [illegible] elsewhere [illegible] had some (form of) the
II, 211 putrid fever. It is [illegible] that this (condition) is recent there, that it did not use to be that way. Al-Bakrî [25] gives an account of how this happened. A copper vessel was found

[24] Ibn Khaldûn uses two words for "bridge," which are not consistently differentiated in meaning. One is used for bridges over deep gorges, the other for bridges over wide rivers, by Abû l-Ḥasan al-ʿÂmirî, *al-Iʿlâm bi-manâqib al-Islâm*, MS. Istanbul, Ragib, 1468, fol. 4*b*. Cf. also al-Jawâlîqî, *Sharḥ Adab al-Kâtib* (Cairo, 1350/1931–32), pp. 71 f.; Qâḍîkhân, *Fatâwî* (Calcutta, 1835), IV, 84.

[25] Cf. al-Bakrî's *Masâlik* in de Slane's translation, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed.; Algiers, 1913), p. 43, Cf. 1:74 (n. 8), above. Here again, Ibn Khaldûn quotes al-Bakrî from memory and adds an element, the copper vessel, which is also known from *The Arabian Nights*. Cf. also W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Itinerar des ʿAbdarî* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, No. 25) (Leipzig, 1940), p. 75.

during an excavation there. The vessel was sealed with lead. The seal was broken, and (a puff of) smoke came out of the vessel and disappeared in the air. Feverous diseases began to occur in that place from that time on.

(Al-Bakrî) meant to imply that the vessel contained some magic spell against (the occurrence of) pestilence, and that when it was gone its magic efficacy also disappeared. Therefore, putrescence and pestilence reappeared. The story is an example of the feeble beliefs and ideas of the common people. Al-Bakrî was neither learned nor enlightened enough to reject such (a story) and see through its nonsensical character. He reported it as he had heard it. The truth lies in the fact that it mostly is the stagnancy of putrid air that causes the putrefaction of bodies and the occurrence of feverous diseases. When the wind gets into (the putrid air), and disperses it left and right, the effect of putrescence is lessened, and the occurrence of illness among living beings decreases correspondingly. When a place has many inhabitants and its people move around a great deal, the air necessarily is made to circulate, and there originates a wind that gets into stagnant air.[26] This, (in turn,) helps the air to keep moving and circulating. Where there are few inhabitants, the air is not helped to move and circulate, so it remains stagnant. Its putrescence increases and its harmfulness grows. When Ifrîqiyah enjoyed a flourishing civilization and a large population, Gabès had many inhabitants whose constant activity helped to keep the air circulating and to keep II, *212*
the harm resulting from (stagnant air) at a minimum by dispersing it. There was not much putrescence or illness there at that time. But when the number of inhabitants (in Gabès) became fewer, the air there, which was putrefied through the corruption of the water (of the town), became stagnant, and putrescence and the occurrence of disease increased. This is the only correct explanation (of the prevalence of feverous diseases in Gabès).

We have seen the contrary occur in places founded with-

[26] But cf. above, p. 136. Cf. also p. 376, below.

out regard for the quality of the air. At first they had few inhabitants, and, consequently, the occurrence of disease was high. Then, when the (number of) inhabitants increased, the situation changed. An example is the royal residence in Fez at this time, which is called the New Town.[27] Many such (examples) exist in the world. If the reader will examine them, my statements will be found to be correct.

As of recent times,[28] the corruption of the air has disappeared in Gabès, and the putrescence no longer exists there. The ruler of Tunis besieged Gabès and cut down the palm grove that surrounded the town. Part of (the town) was thus opened up, and the surrounding air could circulate and the winds could get into it. Thus, the putrescence disappeared from the air.

God governs all affairs.

In connection with the importation of useful things and conveniences into towns, one must see to a number of matters.[29] There is the water (problem). The place should be on a river, or springs with plenty of fresh water should be facing it. The existence of water near the place simplifies the water problem for the inhabitants, which is urgent. The existence of (water) will be a general convenience to them.

Another utility in towns, for which one must provide, is

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[27] New Fez was founded in 674 [1276]. Cf. *'Ibar*, VII, 195; de Slane (tr.), IV, 84; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, II, 30 f.

[28] This paragraph is added in the margin of C and then appears in the text of D. The event referred to took place in 789 [1387], under Abû l-'Abbâs. Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 397 f.; de Slane (tr.), III, 113; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 194.

[29] 'Alâ' ad-dîn al-Kindî, 640–716 [1242/43–1316. Cf. *GAL*, II, 9; *Suppl.*, II, 2; Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar al-kâminah*, III, 130 ff.], in his *Tadhkirah*, wrote as follows: "Do not stay in a place where there is no flowing river, no active business, and no just judge, learned physician, or forceful ruler. Have cities built only where there is water and opportunities for pasturage and collecting firewood." (Quoted from as-Suyûṭî, *Kawkab ar-Rawḍah*, MS. Ar. Princeton 601 = 179 H, fol. 2*b*.) In this and similar forms, the saying has been popular in Arabic wisdom literature since the ninth century. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyûn*, I, 6, 213; 'Alî b. Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Firdaws al-ḥikmah*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi (Berlin, 1928), p. 576; al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtâr al-ḥikam*, among the sayings attributed to Hermes (cf. H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, p. 105); ar-Râghib al-Iṣfahânî, *Muḥâḍarât*, II, 350.

good pastures for the livestock of (the inhabitants). Each householder needs domestic animals for breeding, for milk, and for riding. (These animals) require pasturage. If (the pastures) are nearby and good, that will be more convenient for them, because it is troublesome for them to have the pastures far away.

Furthermore, one has to see to it that there are fields II, *213* suitable for cultivation. Grain is the (basic) food. When the fields are near, the (needed grain) can be obtained more easily and quickly.

Then, there also is (the problem of) a woods to supply firewood and building material. Firewood is a matter of general concern, as it is used for making fires to generate heat. Timber, too, is needed, for roofing and for the many other necessities for which timber is employed.

One should also see to it that the town is situated close to the sea, to facilitate the importation of foreign goods from remote countries. However, this is not on the same level with the afore-mentioned (requirements). All the (requirements) mentioned differ in importance according to the different needs and the necessity that exists for them on the part of the inhabitants.

The founder (of a town) sometimes fails to make a good natural selection, or he sees only to what seems most important to him or his people, and does not think of the needs of others. The Arabs did that at the beginning of Islam when they founded towns in the 'Irâq, the Ḥijâz,[30] and Ifrîqiyah. They saw only to what seemed important to them, namely, pastures for (their) camels and the trees and brackish water suitable to (camels). They did not see to it that there was water (for human consumption), fields for cultivation, firewood, or pastures for domestic animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, and so on.[31] Among the cities (founded by the Arabs) were al-Qayrawân, al-Kûfah, al-Baṣrah,

[30] The reference to the Ḥijâz was omitted in Bulaq, apparently for the good reason that it does not make much sense.

[31] Cf. p. 269, below.

Sijilmâsah, and the like. (These cities) were, therefore, very ready to fall into ruins, in as much as in connection with them no attention had been paid to the natural (requirements of towns).

In connection with coastal towns situated on the sea, one must see to it that they are situated on a mountain or amidst a people sufficiently numerous to come to the support of the
II, 214 town when an enemy attacks it. The reason for this is that a town which is near the sea but does not have within its area tribes who share its group feeling, or is not situated in rugged mountain territory, is in danger of being attacked at night by surprise. Its enemies can easily attack it with a fleet and do harm to it. They can be sure that the city has no one to call to its support and that the urban population, accustomed to tranquillity, has become dependent (on others for its protection) and does not know how to fight. Among (cities) of this type, for instance, are Alexandria in the East, and Tripoli, Bône, and Salé in the West.

Tribes and groups living nearby, where a call for help or the sounds of fighting can reach them, and roads (too) rugged to be used by those who want to reach (the town) built upon a hilltop in mountainous country, constitute the principal defenses (of towns) against (their enemies). (The enemies) will give up attacking the town. Its rugged situation stops them, and they fear that the town's call for help will be answered. This applies to Ceuta, Bougie, and even to Collo (al-Qull),[32] despite its small size.

This should be understood. It may be illustrated by the fact that Alexandria was designated a "border city" by the 'Abbâsids although the 'Abbâsid propaganda extended beyond Alexandria to Barca (Barqah) and Ifrîqiyah. (The term "border city" for Alexandria) expressed ('Abbâsid) fears that attacks (against Alexandria) could be made from the sea. (Such fears were justified in the case of Alexandria) because

[32] The principal port for Constantine. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 288.

of its exposed situation. (Its exposed situation) probably was the reason why Alexandria and Tripoli were attacked by the enemy in Islamic times on numerous occasions. II, *215*

[6] *The mosques and venerated buildings of the world.*

It should be known that God singled out some places of the earth for special honor. He made them the homes of His worship. (People who worship in them) receive a much greater reward and recompense (than people who worship elsewhere). God informed us about this situation through the tongues of His messengers and prophets, as an act of kindness to His servants and for the purpose of facilitating their ways to happiness.

We know from the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s that the most excellent places on earth [33] are the three mosques of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Mecca is the house of Abraham. God commanded Abraham to build it and to exhort the people to make the pilgrimage thither. He and his son Ishmael built it, as is stated in the Qur'ân.[34] He fulfilled God's commandment in this respect. Ishmael dwelt there with Hagar and the Jurhum (tribe) who lived with them, until they both died and were buried in the *ḥijr* [35] of (the Ka'bah).

Jerusalem is the house of David and Solomon. God commanded them to build the mosque there and to erect its monuments (*hayâkil*). Many of the prophets, descendants of Isaac, were buried around it.

Medina is the place to which our Prophet emigrated when God commanded him to emigrate and to establish the religion of Islam there. He built his sacred mosque in Medina, and his noble burial place is on (Medina's) soil.

These three mosques are the consolation of the Muslims, the desire of their hearts, and the sacred asylum of their religion. There are many well-known traditions about their

[33] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, I, 299, 301, 466, 497; *Handbook*, p. 137*b*.
[34] Qur'ân 2.125 ff. (119 ff.).
[35] Cf. p. 252, below.

excellence and the very great reward awaiting those who live near them and pray in them. We shall give (in the following pages) some references to the history of the origin
II, *216* of these three mosques and tell how they gradually developed and eventually made their full-fledged appearance in the world.

Mecca is said to have originated when Adam built it opposite the "much-frequented house." [36] Later on, Mecca was destroyed in the Flood. There is no sound historical information in this connection on which one may rely. The information is merely derived from the indication in the verse of the Qur'ân, "And when Abraham raised the foundations of the house . . ." [37]

Then, God sent Abraham, whose story and that of his wife Sarah and her jealousy of Hagar are known. God revealed to Abraham that he should [38] separate from Hagar and exile her together with her son Ishmael to Paran (Fârân), the mountains of Mecca beyond Syria and Aylah. Abraham sent her out there, and she reached the place of the House. There, she became thirsty, and God in His kindness caused the water of the well of Zamzam to gush forth for Hagar and Ishmael. He also caused a group of Jurhumites to pass by them. They took in Hagar and Ishmael and dwelt with them around the Zamzam, as is well known and stated in its proper place. Ishmael built a house for shelter where the Ka'bah is situated. He built a circular hedge of doom palms around it and turned it into an enclosure for his sheep and goats. Abraham came several times from Syria to visit him. On his last visit, he was ordered to build the Ka'bah on the site of the enclosure. He built it with the help of his son Ishmael. He exhorted the people to make pilgrimage to (the Ka'bah). Ishmael stayed there. When his

[36] Qur'ân 52.4 (4).

[37] Qur'ân 2.127 (121).

[38] The following four lines, down to "became thirsty," originally read: "leave his son Ishmael and Ishmael's mother Hagar in the desert, and he put them down at the place of the House and left them." The new text is found in the margin of C and the text of D.

mother Hagar died, he buried her there. He himself continued to serve (the Ka'bah) until he died. He was buried next to his mother Hagar, and his descendants took charge after him of the affairs of the House together with their maternal uncles from the Jurhum. Then, after them, there came the Amalekites. The situation remained unchanged.[39] II, *217*

People eagerly came there from all directions. There were all kinds of people, descendants of Ishmael as well as others, from near and far. It has been reported that the Tubba's used to make the pilgrimage to the House and to venerate it. It has also been reported that the Tubba' called Tibân As'ad Abû Karib [40] clothed it with curtains and striped Yemenite cloth and ordered it cleaned and had a key made for it. It has furthermore been reported that the Persians used to make pilgrimage to it and present sacrificial gifts to it. The two golden gazelles that 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib found when the Zamzam was excavated are said to have been one of the sacrificial gifts presented (to the Ka'bah) by (the Persians).[41]

The Jurhum, as descendants of the maternal uncles of the children of Ishmael, continued their administration of the House after them. Eventually, the Khuzâ'ah ousted them and remained there after them, as long as God wanted them to remain. Then, the descendants of Ishmael became numerous and spread. They branched out into the Kinânah, who, in turn, branched out into the Quraysh and others. The administration of the (Ka'bah by the) Khuzâ'ah deteriorated. The Quraysh took it away from them. They ousted them from the House and took possession of it themselves. Their

[39] Cf. also *'Ibar*, II, 39, 331.

[40] The name of the Tubba' is added in the margin of C, and then incorporated in the text of D. C evidently has a *t* in Tibân, but the letter was written indistinctly and has elsewhere been misread as *q*. Cf. Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah*, p. 15.

[41] Cf. also p. 257, below. Usually, the gazelles are said to come from the Jurhum; cf. Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah*, p. 94. However, al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-dhahab* (Paris, 1861–77), II, 150, considered this impossible and argued for their Persian origin.

chief at the time was Quṣayy b. Kilâb. He rebuilt the House and gave it a roof of doom-palm and date-palm boughs. Al-A'shâ said:

I swear by the two garments of the monk (of al-Lujj) and by (the building) that
Was built by Quṣayy all alone and by Ibn Jurhum.[42]

During the (Qurashite) administration later on, the House was hit by a flood—or, it is said, by a fire—and was destroyed. The (Quraysh) rebuilt it with money collected from their own property. A ship had been wrecked on the coast near Jidda. They bought its wood for the roof (of the Ka'bah). The height of its walls was (just) over a fathom, and they made them eighteen cubits (high). The door had been level with the ground, and they raised it (just) above one fathom in height, so that floodwaters could not enter it. They did not have enough money to finish it. Therefore,
II, 218 they shortened its foundations, and omitted six cubits and one span. (That area) they surrounded with a low wall. In making the circumambulation (of the Ka'bah), one keeps outside this wall. This (area) is the *ḥijr*.

The House remained in this state, until Ibn az-Zubayr, who wanted to be caliph, fortified himself in Mecca. The armies of Yazîd b. Mu'âwiyah, under al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr as-Sakûnî, advanced against him [43] in the year 64 [683].

[42] Cf. al-A'shâ, *Dîwân*, ed. R. Geyer (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. No. 6) (Vienna & London, 1928), No. 15, v. 44, and p. 88 for the numerous parallel passages collected by Geyer.

Al-Lujj may be the original reading. It is said to have been a pool near the monastery of Hind, the daughter of King an-Nu'mân of al-Ḥîrah. The "two garments" are said to have been the objects worshiped there.

However, al-Lujj is not found in the MSS of the *Muqaddimah*. A, B, and C have nothing. D reads *thumma* (possibly a misunderstanding of the omission mark, as found in C?). Bulaq has *ad-dûr*, which suggests *aṭ-ṭûl*, which occurs among the variants.

Instead of "all by himself," Bulaq has "and al-Ma/uḍâḍ (b. Jurhum)." This is a well-attested variant reading. It may possibly have been inserted by the editor of Bulaq, or Ibn Khaldûn himself may have made the change in the reading at some later date.

It should be noted that among the authors who quote the verse, there also appears al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*, p. 152 (Ch. XIV).

[43] Bulaq adds: "and the House was bombarded."

(The House) was set afire, it is said, by means of naphtha, which the armies of Yazîd shot against Ibn az-Zubayr. Its walls began to crack. Ibn az-Zubayr had it torn down and rebuilt it most beautifully. There was a difference of opinion among the men around Muḥammad with regard (to the manner in which the Ka'bah) was to be reconstructed. Ibn az-Zubayr argued against the others with the following remark, which the Messenger of God had made to 'Â'ishah: "If your people had not but recently been unbelievers, I would have restored the House on the foundations of Abraham and I would have made two doors for it, an eastern and a western one." [44] (Ibn az-Zubayr), therefore, tore it down and laid bare the foundations of Abraham. He assembled the great personalities and dignitaries (of Mecca) to look at them. Ibn 'Abbâs advised him to think of preserving the *qiblah* for the people (during the reconstruction). Therefore, he set up a wooden scaffolding over the foundations and placed curtains over it, in order to preserve the *qiblah* (and keep it visible as a temporary measure). He sent to Ṣan'â' for gypsum and quicklime, which he had brought back (to Mecca). He asked about the original stone quarry used in constructing (the Ka'bah). As many stones as were needed by him were brought together. Then, he started construction over the foundations of Abraham. He built the walls twenty-seven cubits high, and he made two doors for (the Ka'bah) on a level with the ground, as it was said in the tradition (quoted). He made floors and wall coverings of marble for (the Ka'bah), and he had keys and doors of gold fashioned for it.

Later on, in the days of 'Abd-al-Malik, al-Ḥajjâj came to besiege Ibn az-Zubayr. He bombarded the mosque from mangonels until its walls cracked. After Ibn az-Zubayr's defeat, al-Ḥajjâj consulted 'Abd-al-Malik concerning (Ibn az-Zubayr's) reconstruction of the House and additions to it. 'Abd-al-Malik ordered him to tear it down and rebuild it upon the foundations of the Quraysh. The Ka'bah has this II, *219*

[44] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, I, 45, 400; III, 197 f.

(appearance) today. It is said that he ('Abd-al-Malik) regretted his action when he learned that Ibn az-Zubayr's transmission of the tradition of 'Â'ishah was a sound one. He said: "I wish I had left it to Abû Khubayb (Ibn az-Zubayr) to rebuild the House as he had undertaken to do it." [45]

Al-Ḥajjâj tore down six cubits and a span of (the Ka'bah), where the *ḥijr* is, and rebuilt (the Ka'bah) upon the foundations of the Quraysh. He walled in the western door and that part of the eastern door that today is below the threshold. He left the rest entirely unchanged. The whole building as it now stands is the building of Ibn az-Zubayr. In the wall, between his building and that of al-Ḥajjâj, one can distinctly see a crack in the wall where the two buildings are connected. The one construction is separated from the other by a crack in the wall, originally one finger wide, now repaired.

There is a weighty problem here. (The situation described) is in disagreement with what the jurists say relative to circumambulation (of the Ka'bah). The person who makes the circumambulation must be careful not to lean over the *shâdharwân* understructure [46] running underneath the foundation walls. Were he to do so, his circumambulation would be inside the House. This (restriction) is based upon the assumption that the walls cover only a part of the foundations, a part that is not covered by the walls being where the *shâdharwân* understructure is. (The jurists) also state with regard to kissing the Black Stone, that the person who makes the circumambulation must straighten up again when he has kissed the Black Stone, lest part of his circumambulation be inside the House.

Now, if all the walls belong to the building of Ibn az-Zubayr, which was erected upon the foundations of Abraham, how could there occur what (the jurists) say could occur, (namely, that unless due caution is practiced, part of the

[45] Cf. also al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭânîyah*, pp. 153 f. (Ch. XIV).

[46] An understructure of marble, ten inches high, projecting about a foot. Cf. A. J. Wensinck in *EI*, *s.v.* "Ka'ba."

circumambulation might fall inside the Ka'bah)? There is no escape from (the difficulty), except by assuming one of two alternatives. Al-Ḥajjâj may have torn down the whole II, 220
and rebuilt it, as a number of persons have reported, (but not covered the whole of Ibn az-Zubayr's foundation). However, this assumption is refuted by the crack visible between the two buildings and the differences of technical detail between the upper and lower parts. The other alternative would be that Ibn az-Zubayr did not fully restore the House upon the foundations of Abraham. He would only have done this in the case of the *ḥijr*, so as to include it. (The Ka'bah) today, although built by Ibn az-Zubayr, would thus not be on the foundations of Abraham. This is unlikely. But it is one of the two possible alternatives. And God knows better.

The area (courtyard) around the House, that is, the Mosque, was an open space to be used by those who were making the circumambulation. In the days of the Prophet and his successor, Abû Bakr, there were no walls surrounding it. Then the number of people (who made pilgrimage to the Ka'bah) increased. 'Umar bought the (adjacent) houses and had them torn down, and added their (sites) to the Mosque (area). He surrounded it with walls less than a fathom high. The same was done, successively, by 'Uthmân, Ibn az-Zubayr, and al-Walîd b. 'Abd-al-Malik. The latter rebuilt (the Mosque) with marble columns. Al-Manṣûr and his son and successor al-Mahdî added to it. Subsequently, no further additions were made, and the Mosque has remained as it was then down to our time.

Indications that God has honored the House and been greatly concerned with it are too impressive for them all to be recorded. It is sufficient to mention that He made it the place where the revelation and the angels came down, and a place for worship and fulfillment of the religious duties and rites of pilgrimage. The sacred precinct of the House has been singled out for more venerable rights and privileges than any other place. God has forbidden anyone who opposes the religion of Islam to enter the sacred precinct. He en-

joined those who enter it to wear no sewn garments but a piece of cloth (*izâr*) to cover them.[47] He has granted asylum and protection against all harm to those who take refuge in
II, 221 it and to the cattle that graze on its pastures. No one has anything to fear there. No wild animal is hunted there. No tree is cut down for firewood.

The limits of the sacred precinct, which is invested with so much sanctity, extend, in the direction of Medina, three miles to at-Tan'îm; [48] in the direction of the 'Irâq, seven miles to the pass of the mountain of al-Munqata'; in the direction of al-Ji'rânah, nine miles to ash-Shi'b; [49] in the direction of aṭ-Ṭâ'if, seven miles to Baṭn Namirah; and, in the direction of Jidda, ten miles to Munqaṭa' al-'ashâ'ir.

This is the importance and history of Mecca. Mecca is called "the Mother of Villages." [50] The name of the Ka'bah is derived from *ka'b* (cube), because of its height.[51]

Mecca is also called Bakkah.[52] Al-Aṣma'î [53] says: "(It is called Bakkah,) because the people 'squeezed' (*bakka*) — that is, pushed — each other toward it." Mujâhid [54] says: "The *b* of Bakkah was changed into *m*, as one says *lâzim* and *lâzib* 'clinging, adhering,' because of the proximity of the place of articulation of the two sounds." An-Nakha'î [55] says:

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[47] Cf. p. 367, below.

[48] The sacred territory, within which no killing of man or animal was permitted, had to have its boundaries marked in some way. White signposts are said to have been used for the purpose. Al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sulṭâniyah*, p. 157, indicates the limits as they are given here. Only at-Tan'îm was an inhabited locality. The other limits are designated topographically, followed by the name of some former owner or other identifying qualification.

[49] The *shi'b* "defile" is said by al-Mâwârdî to have been that of 'Abdallâh b. Khâlid.

[50] Qur'ân 6.92 (92); 42.7 (5).

[51] Apparently, this is based upon the statement we find in the *Lisân al-'Arab*, II, 213, that the Ka'bah was the *highest part* of the House, and that it was called Ka'bah because of its *elevation* and cubic shape.

[52] Qur'ân 3.96 (90).

[53] The famous authority on grammatical, historical, and literary matters, 'Abd-al-Malik b. Qurayb, who died around 831. Cf. *GAL*, I, 104 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 163 ff. He was mentioned p. 29, above.

[54] Cf. n. 919 to Ch. III, above.

[55] As al-Mâwardî says, *op. cit.*, p. 150, this was Ibrâhîm (b. Yazîd) an-Nakha'î. Cf. p. 172 (n. 885), above.

"Bakkah means the House, and Mecca the place." Az-Zuhrî [56] says: "Bakkah means the whole mosque, and Mecca the sacred precinct."

Ever since pre-Islamic times, Mecca has been honored by the nations. Their rulers sent property and treasures there: (This was done, for instance,) by the Persian emperor (Khosraw) and others. The story of the swords and the two gazelles that 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib found when the Zamzam was excavated is well known.[57]

During the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God found in the cistern there seventy thousand ounces of gold, which were gifts to the House by the rulers (of the foreign nations). Their value was 2,000,000 dinars of a weight of two hundred hundredweight. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib told Muḥammad that he should use the money for his war, but Muḥammad did not do that. He ('Alî) later on mentioned (the same thing) to Abû Bakr, but he could not move him. This is stated by al-Azraqî.[58] In al-Bukhârî, there is the following story with a chain of transmitters going back to Abû Wâ'il,[59] who said: "I was with Shaybah b. 'Uthmân.[60] He said: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb was with me. He said: My intention is not to leave any gold or silver in (Mecca), but I shall distribute it among the Muslims. I replied: You will not do that. He asked: Why? I said: (Because) it was not done by your two masters (*ṣâḥib*). He said: They are the two men who must be taken as models." The story was (also) published by Abû Dâwûd and Ibn Mâjah.[61] II, 222

The money remained (in Mecca) up to the time of the disturbance caused by al-Afṭas, that is, al-Ḥusayn b. al-

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[56] Cf. n. 38 to Ibn Khaldûn's Introduction, above.

[57] Cf. p. 251, above.

[58] Muḥammad b. 'Abdallâh al-Azraqî, d. after 244 [858/59]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 137; *Suppl.*, I, 209. Cf. his *Akhbâr Makkah*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld: *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1858), I, 170 f.

[59] Cf. p. 161 (n. 818), above.

[60] He died in 59 [678/79]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IV, 376 f.

[61] Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, I, 403; IV, 420; Abû Dâwûd, *Sunan* (Cairo 1310/1892–93, in the margin of az-Zurqânî, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa'*), II, 167; Ibn Mâjah, *Sunan*, II, 140; *Handbook*, p. 120*b*.

Ḥasan b. 'Alî b. 'Alî Zayn-al-'Âbidîn, in the year 199 [815].[62] When (al-Afṭas) conquered Mecca, he went to the Ka'bah and took everything that was in the treasury. He said: "What would the Ka'bah do with that money? It lies there unused. We are more entitled to use it for our war (than is the Ka'bah to hold it)." So he took it out and used it. Since then, there has been no treasure in the Ka'bah.

Jerusalem is "the Most Remote Mosque." [63] It began in the time of the Ṣâbians as the site of a temple to Venus. The Ṣâbians used oil as a sacrificial offering and poured it upon the rock that was there. The temple (of Venus) was later on totally destroyed. The children of Israel, when they took possession of (Jerusalem), used it as the *qiblah* for their prayers. This happened in the following manner: Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt, in order to give them possession of Jerusalem, as God had promised to their father Israel and his fathers Isaac and Jacob [64] before him. Now, while they were staying in the desert, God commanded
II, *223* Moses to use a tabernacle [65] of acacia wood, whose measurements, description, effigies (*hayâkil*),[66] and statues were indicated (to Moses) in a revelation. The tabernacle was to contain an ark, a table with plates, and a candelabrum with candles, and (Moses was to) make an altar for sacrifices. All this is very fully described in the Torah. (Moses) made the tabernacle and placed in it the ark of the covenant — that is, the ark in which were kept the tablets fashioned in re-

[62] Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, III, 988 f., *anno* 200, gives a much less dramatic account of the event.

[63] Qur'ân 17.1 (1).

[64] The reference to Jacob, which should be Abraham, was omitted by the editor of Bulaq.

[65] That is, the tent of meeting, the Tabernacle. Cf. also *'Ibar*, II, 84. The Arabic word used by Ibn Khaldûn, *al-qubbah*, means "cupola," and also refers more specifically to portable leather tents, used as shrines in pre-Islamic Arabia. Cf. J. Morgenstern in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XVII (1942–43), 207 ff., following H. Lammens. It remains to be determined which, if any, Arabic translation of the Bible used *al-qubbah* for tent of meeting or tabernacle.

[66] Cf. 1:151 (n. 172), above.

placement of the tablets that had been sent down with the ten commandments and had been broken—and he placed the altar near it. God told Moses that Aaron should be in charge of the sacrifices. (The Israelites) set up the tabernacle among their tents in the desert. They prayed to it, offered their sacrifices upon the altar in front of it, and went there in order to receive revelations. When they took possession of Syria,[67] they deposited it in Gilgal in the Holy Land between Benjamin and Ephraim. The tabernacle remained there fourteen years, for seven years of war, and for seven years after the conquest, when the country was being divided. When Joshua died, the Israelites transferred it to Shiloh, close to Gilgal, and surrounded it with walls. It remained in this situation for three hundred years, until the Philistines took it away from (the Israelites), as was mentioned before,[68] and achieved superiority over them. Then, (the Philistines) returned the tabernacle. After the death of Eli the priest, the Israelites transferred the tabernacle to Nob. Later on, in the days of Saul, it was transferred to Gibeon [69] in the land of Benjamin. When David became ruler, he transferred the tabernacle and the ark to Jerusalem. He made a special tent for it, and placed it upon the Rock.

The tabernacle remained the *qiblah* of (the Israelites). David wanted to build a temple upon the Rock in its place, II, 224
but he was not able to complete it. He charged his son Solomon to take care of (the building of the temple). Solomon built it in the fourth year of his reign, five hundred years after the death of Moses. He made its columns of bronze, and he placed the glass pavilion [70] in it. He covered the doors and the walls with gold. He also used gold in fashioning its

[67] The rest of this paragraph was not yet contained in E and Bulaq. C still has it as a marginal addition, but A, B, and D have it in the text.

[68] The reference apparently is to the survey of Jewish history, 1:474, above. Cf. also *'Ibar*, II, 92.

[69] Read by Ibn Khaldûn *G–b'ûn*.

[70] This legendary "glass pavilion" belongs to the cycle of legends connected with the Queen of Sheba. Solomon built it in order to test her. It is mentioned in Qur'ân 27.44 (44). Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, I, 583; ath-Tha'labî, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyâ'*, in the story of Solomon; Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah*, II, 23; etc.

effigies (*hayâkil*), statues, vessels, chandeliers, and keys. He made the back(room) [71] in (the form of) a vault. In it, the ark of the covenant was to be placed. He brought it from Zion, the place of his father David. The tribes and priests carried it, and it was deposited in the vault. The tabernacle, the vessels, and the altar were put in the places prepared for them in the Mosque. Things remained that way as long as God wished.

Later on, the temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, eight hundred years after its construction. Nebuchadnezzar burned the Torah and the staff (of Moses), melted the effigies (*hayâkil*), and scattered the stones. Later on, the Persian rulers permitted the children of Israel to return. Ezra, the Israelite prophet at that time, rebuilt (the temple) with the help of the Persian ruler, Bahman (Artaxerxes), who owed his birth to the children of Israel who were led into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar.[72] (Bahman) [73] set limits upon the reconstruction of (the temple) by (the Israelites) which made it a smaller building than that of Solomon. (The Israelites) did not go beyond that plan.

The [74] vaulted halls underneath the temple in two superimposed stories, the columns of the upper story of which rest upon the vault of the lower story, are thought by many people to have been Solomon's stables. This is not so. The vaulted halls were built in order to avoid any contamination
II, *225* of the temple in Jerusalem. According to Jewish law, something unclean that is deep down in the earth and separated from the surface by a layer of earth, so that a straight line

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[71] De Slane's ingenious suggestion that *ẓahr* "back" is an echo of Hebrew *dᵉḇîr* "Oracle, Sanctuary," a word that was connected with Arabic *dubur* "back, posterior," although difficult, might, after all, be right. It is interesting to note that the combination of *dᵉḇîr* with the Arabic meaning mentioned, is suggested again in the most recent Hebrew dictionary; cf. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leiden, 1953), p. 198*b*.

[72] He is believed to have had a Jewish mother.

[73] The subject could also be Ezra.

[74] This paragraph is added by C in the margin, and appears in the text of D.

would connect the unclean object in the earth with the object on the surface, could be suspected of making the object on the surface unclean. And a suspicion has the same implication as a fact in (Jewish legal) opinion. Therefore, (the Israelites) built these vaulted halls in this form, with the columns of the upper [75] hall resting upon the vaults of (the lower), so that there would be no straight line (between the object underground and the object upon the surface), along which contamination could spread, and thus any suspicion of the contamination of the temple was avoided. This makes for greater ritual cleanliness and holiness for the temple.[76]

Then, the Greek, Persian, and Roman rulers successively had control over the children of Israel. During that period, a flourishing royal authority was enjoyed by the children of Israel and exercised by the Hasmoneans who were (Jewish) priests. The Hasmoneans, in turn, were succeeded by Herod, a relative of theirs by marriage, and by his children. Herod rebuilt (the temple in) Jerusalem very splendidly, after the plan of Solomon. He completed it in six years. Then, Titus, one of the Roman rulers, appeared and defeated the (Jews) and took possession of their realm. He destroyed Jerusalem and the temple there. The place where the temple had been standing he ordered to be turned into a field.

Then, the religion of the Messiah was adopted by the Romans. It became their religious practice to venerate the Messiah (Jesus). The Roman rulers vacillated, adopting Christianity at one time and giving it up at another, until Constantine appeared.[77] His mother Helena became a Chris-

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[75] The MSS have "lower."

[76] Professor Saul Lieberman kindly informs me that this discussion refers to *Mishnāh Pārāh*, III, 6, where it is stated that there was a hollow space under the temple, in order to avoid its contamination by corpses buried underneath. This was combined with another statement (*ibid.*), in which the construction of a causeway for the Red Heifer is described in a way strikingly similar to the construction of "the Stables of Solomon." For the statement that suspicion has the same implication as fact, one may compare *Mishnāh Ṭohorôth*, VI, 4. Cf. also *The Code of Maimonides, Book Ten*, tr. H. Danby (Yale Judaica Series, Vol. VIII) (New Haven, 1954), p. 103.

[77] Cf. 1:478, above.

tian.[78] She traveled to Jerusalem in search of the wood upon which the Messiah had been crucified, in the opinion of (the Christians). The priests[79] informed her that his cross had been thrown to the ground and had been covered with excrements and filth. She discovered the wood and built "the
II, *226* Church of the Excrements"[80] over the place where those excrements had been. The Church is considered by the Christians to stand upon the grave of the Messiah. Helena destroyed the parts of the House (the Temple) that she found standing. She ordered dung and excrements to be thrown upon the Rock, until it was entirely covered and its site obscured. That she considered the proper reward for what (the Jews) had done to the grave of the Messiah. Opposite "the (Church of the) Excrements," they later on built Bethlehem, the house where Jesus was born.[81]

Things remained this way until the coming of Islam and the Muslim conquest. 'Umar was present at the conquest of Jerusalem, and he asked to see the Rock. The place was shown to him. It was piled high with dung and earth. He had it laid bare, and he built upon it a mosque in the Bedouin style. He gave it as much veneration as God allowed and as befitted its excellence, as preordained and established in the divine Qur'ân.[82] Al-Walîd b. 'Abd-al-Malik later on devoted himself to constructing the Mosque of (the Rock) in the style of the Muslim mosques, as grandly as God wanted him to do it. He had done the same with the Mosque in Mecca and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, as well as the Mosque of Damascus. The Arabs used to call (the Mosque of

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[78] Cf. also *'Ibar*, II, 149.

[79] *Qamâmisah*, pl. of *qummus*, *qummuṣ*, from Greek ἡγούμενος.

[80] In fact, "Church of the Excrements" (*qumâmah*) is a distortion of "Church of the Resurrection" (*qiyâmah*).

[81] The location of Bethlehem appears to have been misunderstood by Ibn Khaldûn, but he did not change the passage after he had been there himself; cf. *Autobiography*, p. 350. Probably he had forgotten about the passage. Apparently, Ibn Khaldûn did not consider Bethlehem a locality, but a house (*beth*, Arabic *bayt*).

[82] Qur'ân 17.1 (1).

Damascus) the Nave (*balâṭ*) of al-Walîd.[83] Al-Walîd compelled the Byzantine Emperor to send workers and money for the building of these mosques, and they (the Byzantine artisans) were to embellish them with mosaics. The Byzantine Emperor complied, and the construction of the mosques was able to materialize according to plan.

During the fifth [eleventh] century and (especially) at the end of it, the power of the caliphate weakened. Jerusalem was in the possession of the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids), the Shî'ah caliphs of Cairo. Their power, (too,) crumbled. The European Christians advanced toward Jerusalem and took possession of it. They also took possession of all the border cities of Syria. Upon the holy Rock they built a church which they venerated and in the construction of which they took great pride. Eventually, Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn b. Ayyûb al-Kurdî became the independent ruler of Egypt and Syria. He wiped out the influence and heresy of the 'Ubaydid(-Fâṭimids). He advanced toward Syria and waged the holy war against the European Christians there. He deprived them of possession of Jerusalem and the other border cities of Syria they were holding. This took place around the year 580 [1184/85]. Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn destroyed the Christian church, uncovered the Rock, and rebuilt the Mosque in about the same form in which it is still standing at this time. II, 227

One should not bother about the famous problem arising from the sound tradition that the Prophet, when he was asked about the first "house" to be erected, replied: "First Mecca, and then Jerusalem." And when he was asked how long the time interval between the two buildings had been, he replied: "Forty years." [84]

Now, the interval between the construction of Mecca and the construction of Jerusalem corresponds to the interval between Abraham and Solomon, because it was Solomon who

[83] Cf. 1:357, above. Cf. also pp. 362 f., below.

[84] Cf. *Handbook*, p. 140*a*; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 214.

built the temple in Jerusalem. That is considerably more than a thousand years.

It should be known that the word "erected" that is used in the tradition was not intended to refer to "construction," but it was intended to refer to the first House to be specially designated for divine worship. It is not an unlikely assumption that Jerusalem was designated for divine worship a long time, such as (the period mentioned), before Solomon (built his temple). It has been reported that the Ṣâbians built a temple to Venus upon the Rock. That was perhaps because (Jerusalem) was (already) a place of divine worship. In the same way, pre-Islamic (Arabs) placed idols and statues in and around the Ka'bah. The Ṣâbians who built the temple of Venus lived in the time of Abraham. It is, therefore, not an unlikely assumption that there was an interval of forty years between the time when Mecca was made a place of divine
II, *228* worship and the time when the same occurred in Jerusalem, even if there was no building there (at that early date), as is well known. The first to build (a temple in) Jerusalem was Solomon. This should be understood, as it is the solution to the problem raised by the tradition.

Medina, a city that was (originally) called Yathrib, was built by Yathrib b. Mahlâ'îl (Mahalalel), an Amalekite, and named after him.

The children of Israel took Medina away from the (Amalekites), together with the other parts of the Ḥijâz of which they took possession. Then, (the Aws and the Khazraj), descendants of Qaylah [85] who belonged to the Ghassânids, settled as neighbors of (the children of Israel in Arabia) and took (Medina) and its castles away from them. Because of God's preordained concern for Medina, the Prophet was commanded to emigrate there, and he did so in the company of Abû Bakr. The men around him followed him. He settled there and built his Mosque and his houses in

[85] This Qaylah is considered to be the female ancestor of the Aws and the Khazraj, tribes who lived in Medina at the time of Muḥammad.

the place God had prepared for that (purpose) and had predestined since eternity for that honor. The descendants of Qaylah received him hospitably and helped him. Therefore, they were called "the Helpers" (*al-Anṣâr*). Islam spread from Medina and eventually gained the upper hand over all other (organizations). (Muḥammad) defeated his own people. He conquered Mecca and took possession of it. The Helpers thought that he would now move away from them and return to his own country.[86] This thought weighed upon them. However, the Messenger of God addressed[87] them and informed them that he would not move. Thus, when he died, he was even buried in Medina.

In praise of (Medina's) excellence, there exist sound traditions, as everybody knows. Scholars disagree as to whether Medina should be considered as more excellent than Mecca. Mâlik expressed himself in favor (of Medina), because he accepted the clear statement to that effect on the authority of Râfi' b. Khudayj,[88] which said that the Prophet had said: "Medina is better than Mecca." (This tradition) was transmitted by 'Abd-al-Wahhâb[89] in the *Ma'ûnah*. There are other such traditions the explicit wording of which indicates the same thing. Abû Ḥanîfah and ash-Shâfi'î were of a different opinion. At any rate, (Medina) comes right after the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca). The hearts of people everywhere long for it. II, 229

One should see how, through God's preordained concern for them, these venerated mosques are gradated in their

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[86] Cf. *Handbook*, p. 24*a*.

[87] The MSS have *fa-khaṭabahum*, which appears to have been used here in the same meaning as *fa-khâṭabahum* (which Bulaq puts into the text).

[88] His death is placed as early as 59 [678/79] and as late as 74 [693]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 229 f. In the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Mâlik praises Medina, and a famous tradition in praise of Medina is occasionally ascribed to Râfi'. Cf. *Muwaṭṭa'* (Tunis, 1280/1863–64), pp. 362 ff., in particular, p. 364; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 141. However, the exact source for Ibn Khaldûn's quotation remains to be discovered.

[89] The famous Mâlikite judge is meant here. Cf. 3:11 (n. 200), below. The full title of the work cited was *al-Ma'ûnah li-madhhab 'âlim al-Madîna* ["Support for the School of the Scholar of Medina (Mâlik)"]. Cf. Ibn Farḥûn, *Dîbâj* (Cairo, 1351/1932), p. 159.

excellence, and one should understand God's secret (plans) with regard to (His) creation and the well-considered gradation He established for the affairs of the religion and the world.

We have no information about any mosque on earth other than these three, save for stories about the Mosque of Adam on the Indian island of Ceylon. But there exists no well-established information about that mosque upon which one may rely.

The ancient nations had mosques which they venerated in what they thought to be a spirit of religious devotion. There were the fire temples of the Persians and the temples of the Greeks and the houses of the Arabs in the Ḥijâz, which the Prophet ordered destroyed on his raids. Al-Mas'ûdî mentioned some of them.[90] We have no occasion whatever to mention them. They are not sanctioned by a religious law. They have nothing to do with religion. No attention is paid to them or to their history. In connection with them, the information contained in historical works is enough. Whoever wants to have historical information (about them) should consult (the historical works).

"God guides whomever He wants to guide." [91]

[7] *There are few cities and towns* [92] *in Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib.*

The reason for this is that these regions belonged to the Berbers for thousands of years before Islam. All (their) civilization was a Bedouin (civilization). No sedentary culture existed among (the Berbers) long enough to reach any de-
II, 230 gree of perfection. The dynasties of European Christians and Arabs who ruled (the Berbers) did not rule long enough for their sedentary culture to take firm root (among them). The customs and ways of Bedouin life to which they were always closer, continued among them. Therefore, they did not have many buildings. Furthermore, crafts were unfamiliar to the

[90] Cf. his *Murûj adh-dhahab*, IV, 42 ff. (Ch. LXIII).
[91] Qur'ân 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.
[92] Bulaq: "towns and cities."

Berbers, because they were firmly rooted in desert life, and the crafts result from sedentary culture. Now, buildings can materialize only with the help of (the crafts). One needs skill to learn them, and since the Berbers did not practice them, they had no interest in buildings, let alone towns.

Furthermore, (the Berbers) have (various) group feelings and (common) descent. No (Berber group) lacks these things. (Common) descent and group feeling are more attracted to desert (than to urban life). Only tranquillity and quiet call for towns. The inhabitants of (towns) come to be dependent on their militia. Therefore, desert people dislike settling in a town or staying there. Only luxury and wealth could cause them to settle in a town, and these things are rare among men.

Thus, the whole civilization of Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib, or the largest part of it, was a Bedouin one. People lived in tents, (camel) litters, sleeping tents, and mountain fastnesses.

On the other hand, the whole civilization of the non-Arab countries, or the largest part of it, was one of villages, cities, and districts. This applies to Spain, Syria, Egypt, the non-Arab 'Irâq, and similar countries. Only in the rarest cases do non-Arabs have a (common) descent which they guard carefully and of which they are proud when it is pure and close. It is mostly people of (common) descent who settle in the desert, because close (common) descent constitutes closer and stronger (bonds than any other element). Thus, the group feeling that goes with (common descent) likewise is (stronger). It draws those who have it to desert life and the avoidance of cities, which do away with bravery and make people dependent upon others. This should be understood and the proper conclusions be drawn from it. II, 231

[8] *The buildings and constructions in Islam are comparatively few considering (Islam's) power and as compared to the dynasties preceding (Islam).*

The reason for this is the very same thing that we mentioned concerning the Berbers.[93] The Arabs, too, are quite

[93] Cf. the preceding section.

firmly rooted in the desert and quite unfamiliar with the crafts. Furthermore, before Islam, the Arabs had been strangers to the realms of which they then took possession. When they came to rule them, there was not time [94] enough for all the institutions of sedentary culture to develop fully. Moreover, the buildings of others which they found in existence, were sufficient for them.

Furthermore, at the beginning, (their) religion forbade them to do any excessive building or to waste too much money on building activities for no purpose. When the reeds which the Muslims had used before, in building al-Kûfah, caught fire, and the Muslims asked 'Umar for permission to use stones, his advice was: "Do, but no one should build more than three houses.[95] Do not vie with each other in building. Adhere to the Sunnah, and you will remain in power." He imposed this (condition) upon the delegation, and then he ordered the people not to build buildings higher than was proper. Asked what "proper" was, he replied: "What does not lead you to wastefulness and does not take you away from purposeful moderation."

The influence of the religion (Islam) and of scrupulousness in such matters then faded. Royal authority and luxury gained the upper hand. The Arabs subjected the Persian na-
II, *232* tion and took over their constructions and buildings. The tranquillity and luxury they now enjoyed led them to (building activities). It was at that time that they erected buildings and (large) constructions. But that also was the period close to the destruction of the dynasty. There was only a little time left for extensive building activities and town and city planning. This had not been the case with other nations. The Persians had had a period of thousands of years. The same was the case with the Copts, the Nabataeans, and the Romans (Byzantines, Rûm), as well as the first Arabs, 'Âd and Thamûd, the Amalekites, and the Tubba's. They had a great deal of time, and the crafts became firmly established among

[94] *Leg. al-amad* (as in Bulaq).
[95] Or perhaps: rooms, "units."

them. Thus, their buildings and monuments were more numerous and left a more lasting imprint (than the buildings of the Muslim Arabs).

Upon close scrutiny, this will be found to be as I have stated.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

[9] *Buildings erected by Arabs, with very few exceptions, quickly fall into ruins.*

The reason for this is the Bedouin attitude and unfamiliarity with the crafts, as we have mentioned before.[96] Therefore, the buildings (of the Arabs) are not solidly built.

There may be another aspect, more pertinent to the problem. That is, as we have stated,[97] that the Arabs pay little attention in town planning to making the right choice with regard to the site (of the town), the quality of the air, the water, the fields, and the pastures (belonging to it). Differences with respect to these things make the difference between good and bad cities as regards natural civilization. The Arabs have no interest in these things. They only see to it that they have pastures for their camels. They do not care whether the water is good or bad, whether there is little or much of it. They do not ask about the suitability of the fields, the vegetable plots, and the air, because they (are used to) moving about the country and importing their grain from remote places. In the desert the winds blow from all directions, and the fact that the Arabs travel about guarantees them winds of good quality. Winds turn bad only when people settle and stay in one place and there are many superfluities there. II, 233

One may cite the Arabs' planning of al-Kûfah, al-Baṣrah, and al-Qayrawân. All they looked for when planning (those cities) was pasturage for their camels and nearness to the desert and the caravan routes. Thus, (those cities) do not possess a natural site. They had no sources from which to

[96] Cf. pp. 266 f., above.
[97] Cf. p. 247, above.

feed their civilization (population) later on. Such a source must exist if civilization is to continue, as we have stated before.[98] The sites of (those cities) were not naturally suited for settlement. They were not situated in the midst of nations capable of repopulating them (once their original population started to disintegrate). At the first intimations of the disintegration of (Arab) power and of the disappearance of the group feeling that protected them, (those cities) fell prey to ruin and disintegration and were as if they had never been. "God decides, and no one can change His decision." [99]

[10] *The beginnings of the ruin of cities.*

It should be known that when cities are first founded, they have few dwellings and few building materials, such as stones and quicklime, or the things that serve as ornamental coverings for walls, such as tiles, marble, mosaic, jet,[100] shells (mother-of-pearl), and glass. Thus, at that time, the buildings are built in Bedouin (style), and the materials used for them are perishable.

II, 234 Then, the civilization of a city grows and its inhabitants increase in number. Now the materials used for (building) increase, because of the increase in (available) labor and the increased number of craftsmen. (This process goes on) until (the city) reaches the limit in that respect, as was discussed before.

The civilization of the city then recedes, and its inhabitants decrease in number. This entails a decrease in the crafts. As a result, good and solid building and the ornamentation of buildings are no longer practiced. Then, the (available) labor decreases, because of the lack of inhabitants. Materials such as stones, marble, and other things, are now being imported scarcely at all, and (building materials) become unavailable. The materials that are in the existing buildings

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[98] Cf. p. 236, above.

[99] Qur'ân 13.41 (41).

[100] Cf. also p. 361, below. For *as-sabaj* "jet," one may compare al-Bîrûnî, *al-Jamâhir fî ma'rifat al-jawâhir* (Hyderabad, 1355/1936–37), pp. 198 f.

are re-used for building and refinishing. They are transferred from one construction to another, since most of the (large) constructions, castles, and mansions stand empty as the result of the scarcity of civilization (population) and the great decrease in (population) as compared with former times. (The same materials) continue to be used for one castle after another and for one house after another, until most of it is completely used up. People then return to the Bedouin way of building. They use adobe instead of stone and omit all ornamentation. The architecture of the city reverts to that of villages and hamlets. The mark of the desert shows in it. (The city) then gradually decays and falls into complete ruin, if it is thus destined for it.

This is how God proceeds with His creatures.

[11] *With regard to the amount of prosperity and business activity (in them), cities and towns differ in accordance with the different size of their civilization (population).*

The [101] reason for this is that, as is known and well established, the individual human being cannot by himself obtain all the necessities of life. All human beings must co-operate to that end in their civilization.[102] But what is obtained through the co-operation of a group of human beings satisfies the need of a number many times greater (than themselves). For instance, no one, by himself, can obtain the share of the wheat he needs for food. But when six or ten persons, including a smith and a carpenter to make the tools, and others who are in charge of the oxen, the plowing of the soil, the harvesting of the ripe grain, and all the other agricultural activities, undertake to obtain their food and work toward that purpose either separately or collectively and thus obtain through their labor a certain amount of food, (that amount) will be food for a number of people many

II, 295

[101] Cf. Issawi, pp. 92–95. In this section Ibn Khaldûn discusses the problem of how differences in the standard of living in various areas affect individuals.

[102] Cf. 1:89, above.

times their own. The combined labor produces more than the needs and necessities of the workers.

If the labor [103] of the inhabitants of a town or city is distributed in accordance with the necessities and needs of those inhabitants, a minimum of that labor will suffice. The labor (available) is more than is needed. Consequently, it is spent to provide the conditions and customs of luxury and to satisfy the needs of the inhabitants of other cities. They import (the things they need) from (people who have a surplus) through exchange or purchase. Thus, the (people who have a surplus) get a good deal of wealth.

It will become clear in the fifth chapter, which deals with profit and sustenance,[104] that profit is the value realized from labor. When there is more labor, the value realized from it increases among the (people). Thus, their profit of necessity increases. The prosperity and wealth they enjoy leads them to luxury and the things that go with it, such as splendid houses and clothes, fine vessels and utensils, and the use of
II, 236 servants and mounts. All these (things) involve activities that require their price [?],[105] and skillful people must be chosen to do them and be in charge of them. As a consequence, industry and the crafts thrive. The income and the expenditure of the city increase. Affluence comes to those who work and produce these things by their labor.

When civilization (population) increases, the (available) labor again increases. In turn, luxury again increases in

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[103] *'Amal* "labor," especially when used in the plural, as very frequently in the following pages, comes very close to the meaning of "labor products."

[104] Cf. pp. 311 ff., below.

[105] *Tastad'î bi-qiyamihâ.* However, the preposition *bi-* is not ordinarily used with this verbal form. The vocalization *qiyam* is indicated in C; otherwise, one might even think of *quyyam* (like *qawamah*, which Ibn Khaldûn uses, a plural of *qâ'im*): "which require supervisors."

De Slane reads *tustad'â bi-qiyamihâ* and translates: "All these are products that exist only because of the value attached to them," but *qiyam* does not have this meaning in the context, and the translation in general does not fit into the context.

There remains another possibility, namely, to translate: "which are required with the help of their prices," meaning which are required and for which the prices they deserve must be paid.

correspondence with the increasing profit, and the customs and needs of luxury increase. Crafts are created to obtain (luxury products). The value realized from them increases, and, as a result, profits are again multiplied in the town. Production there is thriving even more than before. And so it goes with the second and third increase. All the additional labor serves luxury and wealth, in contrast to the original labor that served (the necessities of) life. The city that is superior to another in one (aspect of) civilization (that is, in population), becomes superior to it also by its increased profit and prosperity and by its customs of luxury which are not found in the other city. The more numerous and the more abundant the civilization (population) in a city, the more luxurious is the life of its inhabitants in comparison with that (of the inhabitants) of a lesser city. This applies equally to all levels of the population, to the judges (of the one city) compared with the judges (of the other city), to the merchants (of the one city) compared with the merchants (of the other city), and, as with the judges and merchants, so with the artisans, the small businessmen, amirs, and policemen.

This may be exemplified, for instance, in the Maghrib, by comparing the situation of Fez with other Maghribî cities, such as Bougie, Tlemcen, and Ceuta. A wide difference, both in general and in detail, will be found to exist between (them and Fez). The situation of a judge in Fez is better than that of a judge in Tlemcen, and the same is the case with all other population groups. The same difference exists between Tlemcen on the one hand and Oran or Algiers on the other, and between Oran or Algiers and lesser cities, II, 237
until one gets down to the hamlets where people have only the necessities of life through their labor, or not even enough of them.

The only reason for this is the difference in the labor (available) in (the different cities). They all are a sort of market for their labor (products), and the money spent in each market corresponds to (the volume of business done in it). The income of a judge in Fez suffices for his expendi-

tures, and the same is the case with a judge in Tlemcen. Wherever income and expenditure (combined) are greater, conditions are better and more favorable. (Income and expenditure) are greater in Fez, since its production thrives because of luxury requirements (there). Therefore, greater opulence exists (in Fez). The same applies to Oran, Constantine, Algiers, and Biskra, until, as we have stated, one gets down to the cities whose labor does not pay for their necessities. They cannot be considered cities. They belong to the category of villages and hamlets. Therefore, the inhabitants of such small cities are found to be in a weak position and all equally poor and indigent, because their labor does not pay for their necessities and does not yield them a surplus which they can accumulate as profit. They have no increasing profit. Thus, with very few exceptions, they are poor and needy.

This can (even) be exemplified by the condition of the poor and the beggars. A beggar in Fez is better off than a beggar in Tlemcen or Oran. I observed beggars in Fez who, at the time of the sacrifices (of the *'Îd* festival), begged for enough to buy their sacrificial animals. I saw them beg for many kinds of luxuries and delicacies such as meat, butter,
II, 238 cooked dishes, garments, and utensils, such as sieves and vessels. If a beggar were to ask for such things in Tlemcen or Oran, he would be considered with disapproval and treated harshly and chased away. At this time, we hear astonishing things about conditions in Cairo and Egypt as regards luxury and wealth in the customs of the inhabitants there. Many of the poor in the Maghrib even want to move to Egypt on account of that and because they hear that prosperity in Egypt is greater than anywhere else. The common people believe that this is so because property is abundant in those regions,[106] and (their inhabitants) have much property hoarded, and are more charitable and bountiful than the inhabitants of any other city. (However,) this is not so, but,

[106] Bulaq: "because the inhabitants of those regions are more bountiful than others." Cf. also p. 281, below.

as one knows, the reason is that the civilization (population) of Egypt and Cairo is larger than that of any other city one might think of. Therefore, (the inhabitants of Egypt) enjoy better (living) conditions.

Income and expenditure balance each other in every city. If the income is large, the expenditure is large, and vice versa. And if both income and expenditure are large, the inhabitants become more favorably situated, and the city grows.

No (phenomenon) of this sort one may hear about should be denied, but all these things should be understood to be the result of much civilization and the resulting great profits which facilitate spending and giving bounties to those who ask for them. This might be compared with the difference existing in one and the same town with regard to the houses dumb animals keep away from or frequent. The premises and courtyards of the houses of the prosperous and wealthy (inhabitants of the town), who set a good table and where grain and bread crumbs lie scattered around, are frequented by swarms of ants and insects. There are many large rats in their cellars, and cats repair to them.[107] Flocks of birds circle over them and eventually leave, satiated and full with food and drink. (But) in the premises of the houses of the indigent and the poor who have little sustenance, no insect crawls about and no bird hovers in the air, and no rat or cat takes refuge in the cellars [108] of such houses, for, as (the poet) said: II, 239

> The bird swoops down where there is grain to pick up
> And frequents the mansions of noble (generous) persons.[109]

God's secret (plan) in this respect should be scrutinized. One may compare the swarms of human beings with the

[107] The beginning of this sentence (down to "cats") is a marginal addition in C.

[108] The original "corners" was corrected to "cellars" in C, in view of the preceding addition, just noted. The correction has entered the text of D.

[109] This is a verse ascribed to Bashshâr b. Burd. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyûn*, I, 91. Cf. also Yâqût, *Irshâd*, ed. Margoliouth (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 6) (Leiden & London, 1907–27), II, 164; (Cairo, 1355–57/1936–38), V, 170.

swarms of dumb animals, and the crumbs from tables with the surplus of sustenance and luxury and the ease with which it can be given away by the people who have it, because as a rule they can do without it, since they have more of it. It should be known that favorable conditions and much prosperity in civilization are the results of its large size.

"God has no need of the worlds." [110]

[12] *Prices in towns.*

It should be known that all markets cater to the needs of people. Some of these needs are necessities, foodstuffs, for instance, such as wheat and barley; [111] corresponding foods, such as beans, chick-peas, peas, and other edible grains; and wholesome foods such as onions, garlic, and the like. Other things are conveniences or luxuries, such as seasonings, fruits, clothes, utensils, mounts, all the crafts, and buildings. When a city is highly developed and has many inhabitants, the prices of necessary foodstuffs and corresponding items are low, and the prices for luxuries, such as seasonings, fruits, and the things that go with them, are high. When the
II, 240 inhabitants of a city are few and its civilization weak, the opposite is the case.

The reason for this is that the different kinds of grains belong among the necessary foodstuffs. The demand for them, therefore, is very large. Nobody would neglect (to provide for) his own food or that of his establishment for a month or a year. Thus, the procurement of (grain) concerns the entire population of a city, or the largest part of them, both in the city itself and in its environs. This is inevitable. Everybody who procures food for himself has a great surplus beyond his own and his family's needs. This surplus is able to satisfy the needs of many of the inhabitants of that particular city. No doubt, then, the inhabitants of a city have more food than they need. Consequently, the price of food is low, as a

[110] Qur'ân 3.97 (92). Cf. Qur'ân 29.6 (5).

[111] "Barley" and "chick-peas . . . wholesome foods such as" are additions in the margin of C and the text of D.

rule, except when misfortunes occur due to celestial conditions that may affect (the supply of) food in certain years. If people did not have to store food against such possible mishaps, it could be given away entirely gratis, since it would be plentiful because of the large civilization (population of the city).

All other conveniences, such as seasonings, fruits, and whatever else belongs to them, are not matters of general concern. Their procurement does not engage the labor of all the inhabitants of a city or the largest part of them. Then,[112] when a city has a highly developed, abundant civilization and is full of luxuries, there is a very large demand for those conveniences and for having as many of them as a person can expect in view of his situation. This results in a very great shortage of such things. Many will bid for them, but they will be in short supply. They will be needed for many purposes, and prosperous people used to luxuries will pay exorbitant prices for them, because they need them more than others. Thus, as one can see, prices come to be high.

Crafts and labor also are expensive in cities with an abundant civilization. There are three reasons for this. First, II, *241*
there is much need (of them), because of the place luxury occupies in the city on account of the (city's) large civilization. Second, industrial workers place a high value on their services and employment, (for they do not have to work) since life is easy in a town because of the abundance of food there. Third, the number of people with money to waste is great, and these people have many needs for which they have to employ the services of others and have to use many workers and their skills. Therefore, they pay more for (the services of) workers than their labor is (ordinarily considered) worth, because there is competition for (their services) and the wish to have exclusive use of them. Thus, workers, craftsmen, and professional people become arrogant, their labor becomes expensive, and the expenditures of the inhabitants of the city for these things increase.

[112] Cf. Issawi, pp. 74 f. and 73 f.

Foodstuffs in small cities that have few inhabitants are few, because (these cities) have a small (supply) of labor and because, in view of the small size of the city, the people fear food shortages. Therefore, they hold on to (the food) that comes into their hands and store it. It thus becomes something precious to them, and those who want to buy it have to pay higher prices. (On the other hand,) they also have no demand for conveniences, because the inhabitants are few and their condition is weak. Little business is done by them, and the prices there, consequently, become particularly low.

Customs duties and other duties that are levied on (foods) in the markets and at the city gates on behalf of the ruler, and that tax collectors levy on profits from business transactions in their own interest, enter into the price of foodstuffs. Prices in cities, thus, are higher than prices in the desert, because customs duties and other duties and levies are few or non-existent among (the Bedouins), while the opposite is the case in cities, especially in the later (years) of a dynasty.[113]

The cost of agricultural labor also enters into the price
II, 242 of foodstuffs. It is reflected in these prices.[114] This has happened in Spain at the present time. The Christians pushed the Muslims back to the seacoast and the rugged territory there, where (the soil) is poor for the cultivation of grain and little suited for (the growth of) vegetables. They themselves took possession of the fine soil and the good land. Thus, (the Muslims) had to treat the fields and tracts of land, in order to improve the plants and agriculture there. This treatment required expensive labor (products) and materials, such as fertilizer and other things that had to be procured. Thus, their agricultural activities required considerable expenditures. They calculated these expenditures in fixing their prices, and thus Spain has become an especially expensive region, ever since the Christians forced (the Muslims) to

[113] Cf. pp. 91 ff., above.
[114] Cf. p. 314, below.

withdraw to the Muslim-held coastal regions, for the reason mentioned.

When they hear about the high prices in (Spain), people think that they are caused by the small amount of foodstuffs and grain in the country. This is not so. As we know, the (people of Spain), of all civilized people, are the ones most devoted to agriculture. It rarely happens among them that a man in authority or an ordinary person has no tract of land or field, or does not do some farming. The only exceptions are a few craftsmen and professional people, or fighters in the holy war who are newcomers to the country. The ruler, therefore, includes in the allowances these men receive, rations consisting of the grain they (need) for food and for fodder. The reason for the high prices in (Spain) of the various kinds of grain is the one we have stated.

The Berber countries are in the contrary position. Their fields are fine and their soil is good. Therefore, they did not have to procure anything (from outside) in order to be able to cultivate agriculture, which is widely and generally practiced there. This is the reason for the cheapness of foodstuffs in their country.

God determines night and day.[115]

[13] *Bedouins are unable to settle in a city with a large civilization (population).* II, 243

The reason for this is that luxury increases in a city with a large civilization, as we have stated before. The needs of the inhabitants increase on account of the luxury. Because of the demand for (luxury articles), they become customary, and thus come to be necessities. In addition, all labor becomes precious in the city, and the conveniences become expensive, because there are many purposes for which they are in demand in view of the prevailing luxury and because the government makes levies on market and business trans-

[115] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).

actions. This is reflected in the sales prices. Conveniences, foodstuffs, and labor thus become very expensive. As a result, the expenditures of the inhabitants increase tremendously in proportion to the civilization of (the city). A great deal of money is spent. Under these circumstances, (people) need a great deal of money for expenditures, to procure the necessities of life for themselves and their families, as well as all their other requirements.

The income of the Bedouins, on the other hand, is not large, because they live where there is little demand for labor, and labor is the cause of profit. Bedouins, therefore, do not accumulate any profit or property. For this reason, it is difficult for them to settle in a big city, because conveniences there are (many) [116] and things to buy are dear. In the desert, (the Bedouins) can satisfy their needs with a minimum of labor, because in their lives they are little used to luxuries and all their requirements. They are not, therefore, obliged to have property.

Every Bedouin who is attracted to city life quickly shows himself unable (to compete) and is disgraced. The only ex-
II, 244 ceptions are such (Bedouins) as have previously accumulated property and obtained more of it than they needed and therefore achieved the amount of tranquillity and luxury that is natural to civilized people. They, then, may move to a city, and their condition, as regards customs and luxury, can blend with that of its inhabitants. This is the way the civilization of cities begins.

God "comprises every thing." [117]

[14] *Differences with regard to prosperity and poverty are the same in countries as in cities.*

It should be known that the condition of the inhabitants in regions that have an abundant civilization and contain numerous nations and many inhabitants is favorable. They have much property and many cities. Their dynasties and

[116] Bulaq has a simpler "expensive."
[117] Qur'ân 41.54 (54).

realms are large. The reason for all this is the afore-mentioned great amount of (available) labor and the fact, which we shall mention later on, that it brings wealth. A great surplus of products remains after the necessities of the inhabitants have been satisfied. (This surplus) provides for a population far beyond the size and extent of the (actual one), and comes back to the people as profit that they can accumulate, as we shall mention in the chapter on (the ways of) making a living and the explanation of sustenance and profit.[118] Prosperity, thus, increases, and conditions become favorable. There is luxury and wealth. The tax revenues of the ruling dynasty increase on account of business prosperity. Its property increases, and its authority grows. It comes to use fortresses and castles, to found towns, and to construct cities.

This [119] may be exemplified by the eastern regions, such as Egypt, Syria, the non-Arab 'Irâq, India, China, and the whole northern region, beyond the Mediterranean. When their civilization increased, the property of the inhabitants II, 245
increased, and their dynasties became great. Their towns and settlements became numerous, and their commerce and conditions improved.

At this time, we can observe the condition of the merchants of the Christian nations who come to the Muslims in the Maghrib. Their prosperity and affluence cannot be fully described because it is so great. The same applies to the merchants from the East and what we hear about their conditions, and even more so to the Far Eastern merchants from the countries of the non-Arab 'Irâq, India, and China. We hear remarkable stories reported by travelers about their wealth and prosperity. These stories are usually received with skepticism. The common people who hear them think that the prosperity of these peoples is the result of the greater amount of property owned by them,[120] or of the existence of

[118] Cf. pp. 311 ff., below.
[119] Cf. Issawi, p. 78.
[120] Cf. p. 274, above.

gold and silver mines in their country in larger number (than elsewhere), or of the fact that they, to the exclusion of others, appropriated the gold of the ancient nations. This is not so. The only gold mine about whose existence in these regions we have information, lies in the Sudan country, which is nearer to the Maghrib (than to any other country). Furthermore, all the merchandise that is in their country is exported by them for commerce. If they possessed ready property in abundance, they would not export their merchandise in search of money, and they would have altogether no need of other people's property.

Astrologers have noticed this and been amazed by the favorable conditions and abundance of property in the East. They came and said that the gifts of the stars and the shares
II, *246* (of good fortune) were larger in the nativities of the East than in the nativities of the West. This is correct from the point of view of the correspondence between astrological judgments and terrestrial conditions, as we have stated.[121] But astrologers give us only the astrological reason. They ought also to give us the terrestrial reason. The (terrestrial reason) is the large extent and concentration of civilization in the eastern regions, as we have mentioned. A large civilization yields large profits because of the large amount of (available) labor, which is the cause of (profit). Therefore, the East enjoys more prosperity than all other regions. This is not exclusively the result of the influence of the stars. Our previous indications have made it clear that the influence of the stars cannot produce such a result all by itself. The (existence of a) correspondence between astrological judgments and terrestrial civilization and nature is something inevitable.

The relationship between prosperity and civilization may be exemplified by the regions of Ifrîqiyah and Barca (Barqah). When their population decreased and their civilization shrank, the condition of their inhabitants decayed. They became poor and indigent. The tax revenues from (the region)

[121] Cf. pp. 85 f., above [?].

decreased. The property of the dynasties that ruled there became small. Formerly, the Shî'ah (Fâṭimid) and Ṣinhâjah (Zîrid) dynasties had enjoyed a well-known prosperity and large tax revenues. They had been able to spend a great deal and pay large allowances. This went so far that, most of the time, money was brought from al-Qayrawân to the ruler of Egypt for his needs and important business. The property of the dynasty was so extensive that Jawhar al-Kâtib carried with him, on his expedition to conquer Egypt, one thousand loads of money from which he paid the salaries and allowances of the soldiers and the expenditures of the raiders.[122]

The region of the Maghrib was inferior to Ifrîqiyah in ancient times. Still, it had no little (wealth). During the Almohad dynasty, its condition was favorable and its revenues abundant. At this time, the Maghrib has gone down in this respect because of the decrease and shrinkage of civilization there. Most of the Berber civilization (population) there is gone, and has obviously and palpably become inferior to what it used to be. Its condition has almost become similar to that of Ifrîqiyah. Formerly, its civilization had extended from the Mediterranean to the Sudan country between the longitude(s) of as-Sûs in the far West [123] (in Morocco) and Barca (Barqah). Today, all or most of it is a waste, empty, and desert area, except for the coastal regions or the hills near it. II, 247

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it. He is the best heir.

[15] *The accumulation of estates and farms in cities.*[124] *Their uses and yields.*

It [125] should be known that the accumulation of numerous estates and farms by the inhabitants of towns and cities does

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[122] Cf. 1:360 f., above.

[123] Cf. 1:128 (n. 110), above.

[124] In Ibn Khaldûn's experience, a "town" was hardly comparable to what we consider a town or city. Cf. the introduction to this translation, 1:lxxvii, above. Residents of towns, as Ibn Khaldûn uses the word, may have owned "real estate," i.e., houses, plots, gardens, etc., and "farms" *in* their town.

[125] Cf. Issawi, pp. 76 f.

not come all at once and not at one time. No one person would have enough wealth to acquire limitless (real) property.[126] Even if prosperity were as great as possible, the acquisition and accumulation of (real) property would be gradual. It may come about through inheritance from one's forefathers and blood relatives, so that eventually the property of many comes to one person, who thus possesses much. Or it may be through fluctuation in the (real estate) market.
II, 248 When one dynasty ends and another begins, the militia vanishes. There is no protection, and the city collapses and is ruined. At that time, (the possession of) real estate does not make a person happy, because it is of little use in the general upheaval. (Real estate) values fall, and (real estate) can be acquired for low prices. It then passes through inheritance into the possession of someone else. (By that time,) the city has regained its youthful vigor as the new dynasty flourishes, and conditions in it are in excellent shape. The result is that one may be happy with the possession of estates and farms, because they will then be very useful. Their value increases, and they assume an importance they did not have before. This is the meaning of "fluctuation in (the real estate market)." The owner of (real estate) now turns out to be one of the wealthiest men in the city. That is not the result of his own effort and business activity, because he would be unable to achieve such a thing by himself.

Estates and farms do not yield their owner a sufficient income for his needs. (The income from them) will not pay for the customs of luxury and the things that go with it. As a rule, it serves only to help provide for the necessities of life.

We have heard from scholars that the motive in the acquisition of estates and farms is a concern for the helpless children a person may leave behind. Income from (the real estate) is to serve the purpose of providing for their education, care, and upbringing, as long as they are unable to earn their own living. When they are able to earn their own living, they will do it by themselves. (But) there often

[126] Bulaq: "property whose value would be limitless."

are children who are unable to earn their own living because of some weakness of the body or some defect in (the part of) the mind that provides the ability to make a living. The real property then becomes their support. This is the motive of persons who spend a great deal of money acquiring (real estate).

(The motive is) not to accumulate capital through (such acquisitions) or to provide for extravagant living. This is achieved only by a few and is achieved only rarely through market fluctuations, through the acquisition of a great deal of (real estate), and through the upgrading of (real estate) as such and its value in a certain city. But then, if someone achieves it, the eyes of amirs and governors are directed to him (and his real estate). As a rule, they take it away, or they urge him to sell it to them. Such (real estate) spells harm and hardship to its owners. II, 249

"God has the power to execute His commands." [127]

[16] *Capitalists among the inhabitants of cities need rank and protection.*

This is because a sedentary person who has a great deal of capital and has acquired a great number of estates and farms and become one of the wealthiest inhabitants of a particular city, who is looked upon as such and lives in great luxury and is accustomed to luxury, competes in this respect with amirs and rulers. The latter become jealous of him. The aggressiveness that is natural to human beings makes them cast their eyes upon his possessions. They envy him them and try every possible trick to catch him in the net of a government decision and to find an obvious reason for punishing him, so as to confiscate his property. Government decisions are as a rule unjust, because pure justice is found only in the legal caliphate that lasted only a short while. Muḥammad said: "The caliphate after me will last thirty years; then, it will revert to being tyrannic royal authority." [128]

[127] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).
[128] Cf. p. 192, above.

Therefore, the owner of property and conspicuous wealth
II, 250 in a given civilization (community) needs a protective force to defend him, as well as a rank [128a] on which he may rely. (This purpose may be met by) a person related to the ruler, or a close friend of (the ruler), or a group feeling that the ruler will respect.[129] In its shade, he may rest and live peacefully, safe from hostile attacks. If he does not have that, he will find himself robbed by all kinds of tricks and legal pretexts.

"God decides, and no one can change His decision." [130]

[17] *Sedentary culture in cities comes from the dynasties. It is firmly rooted when the dynasty is continuous and firmly rooted.*

The reason for this is that sedentary culture is a condition that is the result of custom and goes beyond the necessary conditions of civilization. How far beyond, differs in accordance with unlimited differences in the prosperity and the numerical strength or weakness of the nations. (Sedentary culture) [131] occurs in the (nations) when much diversity develops among its various subdivisions. It is thus on the same level as the crafts. Each particular kind of craft needs persons to be in charge of it and skilled in it. The more numerous the various subdivisions of a craft are, the larger the number of the people who (have to) practice that craft. The particular group (practicing that craft) is colored by it. As the days follow one upon the other, and one professional coloring comes after the other, the craftsmen become experienced in their various crafts and skilled in the knowledge of them. Long periods of time and the repetition of similar

[128a] The "rank" (*jâh*) referred to in this section is usually not obtained by the capitalists themselves but belongs to men willing to protect the wealthy persons who attach themselves to them. But cf. also p. 327, below.

[129] Cf. Bombaci, p. 449.

[130] Qur'ân 13.41 (41).

[131] This translation is based upon the reading *wa-taqa'u*, which seems indicated in C. If one adopts the reading *wa-yaqa'u*, the translation would have to be: "(Those differences) occur . . . the various subdivisions (of sedentary culture)."

(experiences) add to establishing the crafts and to causing them to be firmly rooted.

This [132] happens mostly in cities, because cities have a highly developed civilization and their inhabitants are very prosperous, and the dynasty is at the root of it, because the II, *251* dynasty collects the property of the subjects and spends it on its inner circle and on the men connected with it who are more influential by reason of their position than by reason of their property. The money comes from the subjects and is spent among the people of the dynasty and then among those inhabitants of the city who are connected with them. They are the largest part (of the population). Their wealth, therefore, increases and their riches grow. The customs and ways of luxury multiply, and all the various kinds of crafts are firmly established among them. This (then) is sedentary culture.

Therefore, cities in remote parts of the realm, even if they have an abundant civilization, are found to be predominantly Bedouin and remote from sedentary culture in all their ways. This is in contrast with (the situation in) towns that lie in the middle, the center and seat of the dynasty. The only reason is that the government is near them and pours its money into them, like the water (of a river) that makes green everything around it, and fertilizes the soil adjacent to it, while in the distance everything remains dry. We have stated before that dynasty and government are the world's market place.[133] All kinds of merchandise are found in the market and near it. Far from the market, however, goods are altogether non-existent. As a particular dynasty continues to rule and its rulers succeed each other in a particular city, sedentary culture becomes increasingly firmly established and rooted among the inhabitants of that city.

This may be exemplified by the Jews. Their rule in Syria lasted about 1,400 years. Sedentary culture thus became firmly established among them. They became skilled in the

[132] Cf. Issawi, p. 90.

[133] Cf. 1:46 f., and p. 102, above, and p. 352, below.

II, 252 customary ways and means of making a living and in the manifold crafts belonging to it as regards food, clothing, and all the other parts of (domestic) economy, so much so that these things, as a rule, can still be learned from them to this day. Sedentary culture and its customs became firmly rooted in Syria through them and (through) the Roman dynasties which succeeded them for six hundred years. Thus, they had the most developed sedentary culture possible.

The same was the case with the Copts. Their political power lasted three thousand years. The customs of sedentary culture were thus firmly rooted in their country, Egypt. They were succeeded there by the Greeks and the Romans, and then by Islam, which abrogated everything. The customs of sedentary culture have, thus, always continued in (Egypt).

The customs of sedentary culture became likewise firmly rooted in the Yemen, because the Arabs ruled continuously in the Yemen for thousands of years, ever since the time of the Amalekites and the Tubba's who were succeeded by the rule of the Muḍar.

The same was the case with the sedentary culture in the 'Irâq which, for thousands of years, was ruled continuously by the Nabataeans and the Persians, that is, the Chaldaeans, the Kayyanids (the Achaemenids), the Sassanians (al-Kisrawîyah), and, after them, the Arabs. Down to this time there has never been upon the face of the earth a people with more sedentary culture than the inhabitants of Syria, the 'Irâq, and Egypt.

The [134] customs of sedentary culture also became firmly rooted in Spain, which, for thousands of years, was ruled continuously by the great Gothic dynasty, later succeeded by the Umayyad realm. Both dynasties were great. Therefore, the customs of sedentary culture continued and became firmly established in (Spain).

Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib had no great royal authority before Islam. The Romans (Byzantines, Rûm) [135] and Euro-

[134] For the following discussion, cf. also pp. 349 ff., below.

[135] The reference to the Rûm is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

pean Christians had crossed the sea to Ifrîqiyah and had taken possession of the coast. The obedience the Berbers who lived there paid them was not firmly grounded. They were there only temporarily. No dynasty was close to the people of the II, *253* Maghrib. From time to time, they offered their obedience to the Goths across the sea. When God brought Islam and the Arabs took possession of Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib, the Arab rule lasted for only a short while at the beginning of Islam. At that time, the (Arabs) were in the stage of Bedouin life. Those who stayed in Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib did not find there any old tradition of sedentary culture, because (the original population of Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib) had been Berbers immersed in Bedouin life. Very soon, the Berbers of Morocco revolted under Maysarah al-Maṭgharî in the days of Hishâm b. 'Abd-al-Malik,[136] and never again later reverted to Arab rule. They were independent. If they rendered the oath of allegiance to Idrîs, his rule over them cannot be considered an Arab rule, because the Berbers were in charge of it, and there were not many Arabs in it. Ifrîqiyah remained in the possession of the Aghlabids and the Arabs who were with them. They had some sedentary culture as the result of the luxury and prosperity of the royal authority and the large civilization of al-Qayrawân that were theirs. The Kutâmah and then the Ṣinhâjah after them inherited it from the Aghlabids. But all that was brief and lasted less than four hundred years. Their dynasty ended, and the coloring of sedentary culture (that existed there) changed, as it had not been firmly established. The Hilâl, who were Arab Bedouins, gained power over the country and ruined it.

Some obscure traces of sedentary culture have remained there down to the present time. They can be noticed among those who had ancestors in al-Qal'ah,[137] al-Qayrawân, or al-Mahdîyah. Some traces of sedentary culture can be found in II, *254* the (domestic) economy and the customs of (these people). They are mixed with other things, but the person who comes

[136] Cf. *'Ibar*, VI, 110, 119; de Slane (tr.), I, 216 f., 237 (and 360); H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 99 f.

[137] Cf. I:315 (n. 6), above.

from a sedentary environment and knows about (sedentary culture) can discern them. That is the case with most cities in Ifrîqiyah, but not in the Maghrib and the cities there, because since the time of the Aghlabids, the Shî'ah (Fâṭimids), and the Ṣinhâjah, the ruling dynasty in Ifrîqiyah has been firmly rooted there for a longer period (than the dynasties in the Maghrib).

The Maghrib, on the other hand, has received a good deal of sedentary culture from Spain since the dynasty of the Almohads, and the customs of sedentary culture became established there through the control that the ruling dynasty of the Maghrib exercised over Spain. A good many of the inhabitants of (Spain) went to (the Almohads in the Maghrib), voluntarily or involuntarily. One knows how far-flung the influence (of the Almohad dynasty) was. It possessed a good deal of firmly established sedentary culture, most of it due to the inhabitants of Spain. Later on, the inhabitants of eastern Spain were expelled by the Christians and moved to Ifrîqiyah.[138] In the cities there, they left traces of sedentary culture. Most of it is in Tunis, where it mixed with the sedentary culture of Egypt and (Egyptian) customs imported by travelers. Thus, the Maghrib and Ifrîqiyah had a good deal of sedentary culture. But emptiness took its place, and it disappeared. The Berbers in the Maghrib reverted to their Bedouin ways and Bedouin toughness. But, at any rate, the traces of sedentary culture are more numerous in Ifrîqiyah than in the Maghrib and in the cities of (the Maghrib). The old dynasties had lasted longer in Ifrîqiyah than in the Maghrib, and the customs of the people of Ifrîqiyah had been close to the customs of the Egyptians because of the great amount of intercourse between (the Egyptians and the people of Ifrîqiyah).

This secret should be understood, because it is not known to the people. It should be known that these are related matters: The strength and weakness of a dynasty, the numerical

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[138] Cf. I:xxxv f., above.

strength of a nation or race, the size of a town or city, and the amount of prosperity and wealth. This is because dynasty and royal authority constitute the *form* of the world and of civilization, which, in turn, together with the subjects, cities, and all other things, constitute the *matter* of (dynasty and royal authority).[139] The tax money reverts to the (people). Their wealth, as a rule, comes from their business and commercial activities. If the ruler pours out gifts and money upon his people, it spreads among them and reverts to him, and again from him to them. It comes from them through taxation and the land tax, and reverts to them through gifts. The wealth of the subjects corresponds to the finances of the dynasty. The finances of the dynasty, in turn, correspond to the wealth and number of the subjects. The origin of it all is civilization and its extensiveness. If this is considered and examined in connection with the (various) dynasties, it will be found to be so. II, *255*

"God decides, and no one can change His decision." [140]

[18] *Sedentary culture is the goal of civilization. It means the end of its life span and brings about its corruption.*

We have explained before [141] that royal authority and (the foundation of) dynasties are the goal of group feeling, and that sedentary culture is the goal of Bedouin life, and that any civilization, be it a Bedouin civilization or sedentary culture, whether it concerns ruler or commoner,[142] has a physical [143] life, just as any individual created (being) has a physical life.

Reason and tradition make it clear that (the age of) forty years means the end of the increase of an individual's powers and growth. When a man has reached the age of forty, nature

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[139] Cf. pp. 104 and 107, above, and pp. 300 and 305, below.

[140] Qur'ân 13.41 (41).

[141] Cf. 1:284 ff., 347 ff., and 348 ff., above.

[142] *Malik wa-sûqah.* The abstracts would be better, but *sûqah* "subjects" is not used as an abstract, so far as I know. The MSS would actually seem to support the reading *mulk wa-sûqihî* "royal authority and its market."

[143] Lit., "sensually perceivable."

II, *256* stops growing for a while, then starts to decline. It should be known that the same is the case with sedentary culture in civilization, because there is a limit that cannot be overstepped. When luxury and prosperity come to civilized people, it naturally causes them to follow the ways of sedentary culture and adopt its customs. As one knows, sedentary culture is the adoption of diversified luxuries, the cultivation of the things that go with them, and addiction to the crafts that give elegance to all the various kinds of (luxury), such as the crafts of cooking, dressmaking, building, and (making) carpets, vessels, and all other parts of (domestic) economy. For the elegant execution of all these things, there exist many crafts not needed in desert life with its lack of elegance. When elegance in (domestic) economy has reached the limit, it is followed by subservience to desires. From all these customs, the human soul receives a multiple coloring that undermines its religion and worldly (well-being). (It cannot preserve) its religion, because it has now been firmly colored by customs (of luxury), and it is difficult to discard such coloring. (It cannot preserve) its worldly (well-being), because the customs (of luxury) demand a great many things and (entail) many requirements for which (a man's) income is not sufficient.

This [144] is explained by the fact that the expenditures of the inhabitants of a city mount with the diversification of sedentary culture. Sedentary culture differs according to the differences in civilization. When a civilization grows, sedentary culture becomes more perfect. We have stated before [145] that a city with a large civilization (population) is characterized by high prices in business and high prices for its needs. (The prices) are then raised still higher through customs duties; for sedentary culture reaches perfection at the time when the dynasty has reached its greatest flourishing, and
II, *257* that is the time when the dynasty levies customs duties because then it has large expenditures, as has been stated be-

[144] The text from here to p. 293, l. 19, appears in C on an inserted sheet.
[145] Cf. pp. 276 ff., above.

fore.[146] The [147] customs duties raise the sales (prices), because small businessmen and merchants include all their expenses, even their personal requirements, in the price of their stock and merchandise. Thus, customs duties enter into the sales price. The expenditures of sedentary people, therefore, grow and are no longer reasonable but extravagant. The people cannot escape this (development) because they are dominated by and subservient to their customs. All their profits go into (their) expenditures. One person after another becomes reduced in circumstances and indigent. Poverty takes hold of them. Few persons bid for the available goods. Business decreases, and the situation of the town deteriorates.

All this is caused by excessive sedentary culture and luxury. They corrupt the city generally in respect to business and civilization. Corruption of the individual inhabitants is the result of painful and trying efforts to satisfy the needs caused by their (luxury) customs; (the result) of the bad qualities they have acquired in the process of obtaining (those needs); and of the damage the soul suffers after it has obtained them, through acquiring (still) another (bad luxury) quality.[148] Immorality, wrongdoing, insincerity, and trickery, for the purposes of making a living in a proper or an improper manner, increase among them. The soul comes to think about (making a living), to study it, and to use all possible trickery for the purpose. People are now devoted to lying, gambling, cheating, fraud, theft, perjury, and usury. Because of the many desires and pleasures resulting from II, *258*
luxury, they are found to know everything about the ways and means of immorality, they talk openly about it and its causes, and give up all restraint in discussing it, even among relatives and close female relations, where the Bedouin attitude requires modesty (and avoidance of) obscenities. They

[146] Cf. pp. 91 f., above.

[147] Cf. Issawi, p. 74.

[148] Namely, the trickery and insincerity needed to earn enough to satisfy the desire for luxury customs, as described in the following sentences.

also know everything about fraud and deceit, which they employ to defend themselves against the possible use of force against them and against the punishment expected for their evil deeds. Eventually, this becomes a custom and trait of character with most of them, except those whom God protects.

The city, then, teems with low people of blameworthy character. They encounter competition from many members of the younger generation of the dynasty, whose education has been neglected and whom the dynasty has neglected to accept. They, therefore, adopt the qualities of their environment and company,[149] even though they may be people of noble descent and ancestry. Men are human beings and as such resemble one another. They differ in merit and are distinguished by their character, by their acquisition of virtues and avoidance of vices. The person who is strongly colored by any kind of vice and whose good character is corrupted, is not helped by his good descent and fine origin. Thus, one finds that many descendants of great families, men of a highly esteemed origin, members of the dynasty, get into deep water and adopt low occupations in order to make a living, because their character is corrupt and they are colored by wrongdoing and
II, 259 insincerity. If this (situation) spreads in a town or nation, God permits it to be ruined and destroyed. This is the meaning of the word of God: "When we want to destroy a village, we order those of its inhabitants who live in luxury to act wickedly therein. Thus, the word becomes true for it, and we do destroy it." [150]

A possible explanation of this (situation) is that the profits (the people) make do not pay for their needs, because of the great number of (luxury) customs and the desire of the soul to satisfy them. Thus, the affairs of the people are in disorder, and if the affairs of individuals one by one deterio-

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[149] *Wa-ṣ-ṣiḥâb*, as in A and B. C has this word added *supra lineam*, then in the margin, corrected to *wa-aṣḥâbihî*. In some texts it was then added in the wrong place.

[150] Qur'ân 17.16 (17).

rate, the town becomes disorganized and falls into ruins.

This is the meaning of the statement by certain knowing people,[151] that if orange trees are much grown in a town, the town invites its own ruin. Many common people avoided the growing of orange trees around (their) houses on account of this ominous (statement).[152] But this is not what is meant, nor is it meant that orange trees are a bad omen [153] (and cause the ruin of a city). What is meant is that gardens and irrigation are the results of sedentary culture. Orange trees, lime trees, cypresses, and similar plants having no edible fruits [154] and being of no use, are the ultimate in sedentary culture, since they are planted in gardens only for the sake of their appearance, and they are planted only after the ways of luxury have become diversified. (Now,) this is the stage in which one must fear the destruction and ruin of a city, as we have stated. The same has been said with regard to oleander, which is in the same category. Its only purpose is to give color to gardens with its red and white flowers. That is a luxury.

Among the things that corrupt sedentary culture, there is the disposition toward pleasures and indulgence in them, II, 260
because of the great luxury (that prevails). It leads to diversification of the desires of the belly for pleasurable food and drink.[155] This is followed by diversification of the pleasures of sex through various ways of sexual intercourse, such as adultery and homosexuality. This leads to destruction of the (human) species. It may come about indirectly, through the confusion concerning one's descent caused by adultery. Nobody knows his own son, since he is illegitimate and since

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[151] *Ahl al-khawâṣṣ*, lit., "people who know about the special qualities (properties) of things." This may refer to alchemists, or, as in this case, to people who know the material contained in such works as the *Nabataean Agriculture*. Cf. 3:151 f., below. See also 1:183, above.

[152] "Ominous" is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

[153] Corrected in C and D, for the earlier "special quality."

[154] This is what Ibn Khaldûn says, but since the various citrus plants can be used for some kind of nourishment, he is apparently thinking of their seeming lack of basic nutritive qualities.

[155] The reference to drink is an addition to C and D.

the sperm (of different men) got mixed up in the womb.[156] The natural compassion a man feels for his children and his feeling of responsibility for them is lost. Thus, they perish, and this leads to the end of the (human) species. Or, the destruction of the (human) species may come about directly, as is the case with homosexuality, which leads directly to the non-existence of offspring. It contributes more to the destruction of the (human) species (than adultery), since it leads to (the result) that no human beings are brought into existence, while adultery only leads to the (social) non-existence of those who are in existence. Therefore, the school of Mâlik [157] is more explicit and correct with regard to homosexuality than the other schools. This shows that it understands the intentions of the religious law and their bearing upon the (public) interest better (than the other legal schools).

This should be understood. It shows that the goal of civilization is sedentary culture and luxury. When civilization reaches that goal, it turns toward corruption and starts being senile, as happens in the natural life of living beings. Indeed, we may say that the qualities of character resulting from sedentary culture and luxury are identical with corruption. Man is a man only in as much as he is able to procure for himself useful things and to repel harmful things, and in as much as his character is suited to making efforts to this effect. The sedentary person cannot take care of his needs personally. He may be too weak, because of the tranquillity he enjoys. Or he may be too proud, because he was brought
II, *261* up in prosperity and luxury. Both things are blameworthy. He also is not able to repel harmful things,[158] because he has no courage as the result of (his life in) luxury and his upbringing under the (tyrannical) impact of education and

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[156] Cf. 1:79, above.

[157] The Mâlikites stipulated lapidation as the punishment for those involved.

[158] Bulaq adds: "and to have a character suited for efforts to this effect. The sedentary person . . ."

instruction.[159] He thus becomes dependent upon a protective force to defend him.

He then usually becomes corrupt with regard to his religion, also. The (luxury) customs and his subservience to them have corrupted him, and his soul has been colored by (luxury) habits,[160] as we have stated. There are only very rare exceptions. When the strength of a man and then [161] his character and religion are corrupted, his humanity is corrupted, and he becomes, in effect, transformed (into an animal).

It is in this sense that those government soldiers who are close to Bedouin life and (Bedouin) toughness are more useful than those who have grown up in a sedentary culture and have adopted the character qualities of (sedentary culture). This can be found (to be the case) in every dynasty. It has thus become clear that the stage of sedentary culture is the stopping point in the life of civilization and dynasties.

"God is one and powerful." [162]

[19] *Cities that are the seats of royal authority fall into ruins when the ruling dynasty falls into ruins and crumbles.*[163]

We have found out with regard to civilization that, when a dynasty disintegrates and crumbles, the civilization of the city that is the seat of the ruler of (that dynasty) also crumbles and in this process often suffers complete ruin. There hardly ever is any delay. The reasons for it are several:

First: At the beginning of the dynasty, its necessary Bedouin outlook requires it not to take away people's property and to eschew (too great) cleverness.[164] This causes the taxes and imposts, which provide the dynasty with its substance, to be kept low. The expenditures are small, and there II, 262

[159] Cf. 3:305 ff., below.

[160] Bulaq: "by the power of luxury customs."

[161] Bulaq: "to control. . . ."

[162] Qur'ân 12.39 (39); 38.65 (65); 39.4 (6). Cf. also Qur'ân 13.16 (17).

[163] The entire section appears in C on an inserted sheet.

[164] Cf. pp. 89 f. and 122 f., above.

is little luxury. When a city that had been a royal capital comes into the possession of a new dynasty that knows little of luxury, luxury decreases among the inhabitants of that city controlled by it, because the subjects follow the dynasty. They revert to the character of the dynasty, either voluntarily, because it is human nature to follow the tradition of their masters, or involuntarily, because the character of the dynasty calls for abstention from luxury in all situations and allows little profit, which is what constitutes the material for (the formation of luxury) customs. As a result, the sedentary culture of the city decreases, and many luxury customs disappear from it. That is what we mean when we speak about the ruin of a city.

Second: Royal authority and power are obtained by a dynasty only through superiority, which comes only after hostilities and wars. Hostility requires incompatibility between the people of the two dynasties and mutual disapproval [165] with regard to (luxury) customs and conditions. The victory of one of the two rivals causes the disappearance of the other. Thus, the conditions of the previous dynasty, especially the conditions of luxury, are disapproved of and considered detestable and evil by the people of the new dynasty. They disappear among them, because the (new) dynasty disapproves of them. Eventually, however, new luxury customs gradually originate among them. They produce a new sedentary culture. The period in between sees a dwindling and decrease of the first sedentary culture. This is what is meant by disintegration of civilization in a city.

II, *263* Third: Each nation must have a home, (a place) where it grows up and from which the realm took its origin. When (its members) take possession of another home,[166] (the latter) is ranked second to the first (home), and the (latter's) cities are ranked second to the cities of the first. When the realm expands and its influence grows, it is inevitable that the seat of government be amidst the provinces belonging to the

[165] *Wa-nakîr*, as clearly indicated in C and D.

[166] Bulaq: "realm."

dynasty, because it is a sort of center for the whole area. Thus, the (new seat of government) is remote from the site of the former seat of government. The hearts of the people are attracted to the (new seat of government), because the dynasty and government (are there). Civilization (the population) moves there and disappears slowly from the city that was the former seat of government. Sedentary culture depends upon an abundant civilization (population), as we have said before.[167] (With the transfer of the population,) the sedentary and urban culture (of the former seat of government) decreases. This is what is meant by its disintegration.

This happened to the Saljûqs when they moved their seat of government from Baghdad to Iṣfahân; to the Arabs before them when they moved from al-Madâ'in to al-Kûfah and al-Baṣrah; to the 'Abbâsids when they moved from Damascus to Baghdad; and to the Merinids in the Maghrib when they moved from Marrakech to Fez. In general, when a dynasty chooses a city for its seat of government, it causes disintegration of the civilization in the former seat of government.

Fourth: When the new dynasty achieves superiority over the previous dynasty, it must attempt to transfer the people and partisans of the previous dynasty to another region where it can be sure that it will not be secretly attacked by them. Most of the inhabitants of a capital city are partisans of the (ruling) dynasty. They belong either to the militia who settled there at the beginning of the dynasty, or they are the dignitaries of the city. All their various classes and types have, as a rule, some contact with the dynasty. Most of them have grown up in the dynasty and are partisans of it. Even II, *264*
though they may not be (connected with the dynasty) through power and group feelings, they are (connected with it) through inclination, love, and faith. It is the nature of a new dynasty to wipe out all the traces of the previous dynasty. Therefore, it transfers (the population) from the capital city (of the old dynasty) to its own home, which is firmly in its possession. Some are brought there as exiles and prisoners,

[167] Cf., for instance, p. 287, above.

others as honored and well-treated guests, so that no antagonism can arise. Eventually, the capital city (of the previous dynasty) holds only salesmen, itinerant farm workers, hoodlums, and the great mass of common people. The place of the (transferred population) is taken by the militia and partisans of (the new dynasty). They will be sufficient to fill the city. When the various classes of dignitaries have left the city, its inhabitants decrease. This is what is meant by disintegration of the civilization of (the capital city).

Then, (the former capital city) must produce a new civilization under the shadow of the new dynasty. Another sedentary culture corresponding to the importance of the dynasty, arises in it. This may be compared to a person who has a house the interior of which is dilapidated. Most of the installations and conveniences of the rooms do not agree with his plans. He has the power to change these installations and to rebuild them according to his wishes and plans. Thus, he will tear down the house and build it up again.[168] Much the same sort of thing happens in cities that once were seats of government. We have personally seen it and know it. God determines night and day.[169]

In [170] sum, the primary natural reason for this (situation) is the fact that dynasty and royal authority have the same relationship to civilization as form has to matter.[171] (The form) is the shape that preserves the existence of (matter) through the (particular) kind (of phenomenon) it represents. It has been established in philosophy that the one cannot be separated from the other. One cannot imagine a dynasty
II, *265* without civilization, while a civilization without dynasty and royal authority is impossible, because human beings must by nature co-operate,[172] and that calls for a restraining influence. Political leadership, based either on religious or royal authority, is obligatory as (such a restraining influence). This is

[168] Cf. Bombaci, pp. 449 f.
[169] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).
[170] Cf. Issawi, pp. 101 f.
[171] Cf. p. 291 (n. 139), above.
[172] Bulaq: "are by nature hostile to each other."

what is meant by dynasty. Since the two cannot be separated, the disintegration of one of them must influence the other, just as its non-existence would entail the non-existence of the other.

A great disintegration results only from the disintegration of the entire dynasty. This happened to the dynasties of the Persians, the Byzantines, and the Arabs, (that is, the Arabs) in general as well as the Umayyads and the 'Abbâsids. An individual reign, such as those of Anôsharwân, Heraclius, 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwân, or ar-Rashîd, cannot exercise a sweeping disintegrating influence. Individuals follow upon each other and take over the (existing) civilization. They preserve its existence and duration, and they are very similar to each other. The real dynasty, the one that acts upon the matter of civilization, belongs to group feeling and power. These remain with the individual members of the dynasty. But when the group feeling is lost and replaced by another group feeling that influences the (existing) civilization and when all powerful members (of the dynasty) are wiped out, a great disintegration sets in, as we have established.

God has power to do what He wishes. "If He wants them to disappear, He causes them to do so, and brings forth a new creation. That is not difficult for God." [173]

[20] *Certain cities have crafts that others lack.*

This is because it is clear that the activities of the inhabitants of a city necessitate each other, since mutual co-operation is innate in civilization. The necessary activities are restricted II, *266* to certain inhabitants of the city. They are in charge of them and become experts in the craft(s) belonging to them. These activities become their particular job. They make their living through them and derive their sustenance from them, because (these activities of theirs) are matters of general concern in the city and generally needed. On the other hand, activities not required in a city are not regarded, since there is no profit in them for those who occupy themselves with them.

[173] Qur'ân 14.19 f. (22 f.); 35.16 f. (17 f.).

The activities required for the necessities of life, such as those of tailors, smiths, carpenters, and similar occupations, exist in every city. But activities required for luxury customs and conditions exist only in cities of a highly developed culture, that have taken to luxury customs and sedentary culture. Among such activities are those of glassblowers, goldsmiths, perfumers, cooks, coppersmiths, biscuit bakers, *harîsah* bakers,[174] weavers of brocade, and the like. (These activities) exist in different degrees. In accordance with increase in the customs of sedentary culture and the requirements of luxury conditions, there originate crafts (especially) for this kind (of luxury requirements). (The crafts of this) kind will, thus, exist in a particular city, but not in others.

(Public) baths fall into this category. They exist only in densely settled cities of a highly developed civilization as a kind of indulgence resulting from luxury and wealth. Therefore, public baths do not exist in medium-sized towns. It is true that some rulers and chiefs desire (to have baths in their medium-sized cities). They construct them and put them into operation. However, since there is no demand for them from the mass of the people, they are soon neglected and fall into ruins. Those in charge of them speedily leave them, because they have little profit and income from them.

"God holds (His hands) tight together but also opens (them) wide." [175]

II, 267 [21] *The existence of group feeling in cities and the superiority of some of the inhabitants over others.*

It [176] is clear that it is in the nature of human beings to enter into close contact and to associate (with each other),

[174] For the *saffâj* "biscuit baker" and the *harrâs* "*harîsah* (pastry) baker," cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 161–63, and, more recently, E. Lévi-Provençal, "Le Traité d'Ibn 'Abdûn," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), 235, 274, 297; tr. by the same, *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle* (Islam d'hier et d'aujourdhui, No. 2) (Paris, 1947), pp. 100 f.

[175] Qur'ân 2.245 (246).

[176] Cf. Issawi, pp. 107 f.

even though they may not have a common descent. However, as we have mentioned before,[177] such association is weaker than one based upon common descent, and the resulting group feeling is only part of what (group feeling) resulting from common descent is. Many inhabitants of cities come into close contact through intermarriage. This draws them together and, eventually, they constitute individual related groups. The same friendship or hostility that is found among tribes and families, is found among them, and they split into parties and groups.

When senility befalls a dynasty and its shadow recedes from the remote regions (of the realm), the inhabitants of the cities of (that dynasty) have to take care of their own affairs and to look after the protection of their own place. They revert to the council (government), and (people of the) higher class keep separated from people of the lower class. (Human) souls, by their very nature, are prone to seek superiority and domination. Because the air is clear of forceful government and dynasty, the elders desire to gain complete control. Everybody vies with everybody else. They try to have followers, such as clients, partisans, and allies, join them. They spend whatever they possess on the rabble and the mob. Everybody forms a group with his fellows, and one of them achieves superiority. He then turns against his equals, in order to slow them down,[178] and persecutes them with assassination or exile. Eventually, he takes away all executive power from them and renders them innocuous.[179] He obtains II, *268* sole control of the entire city. He then is of the opinion that he has created a realm that he may leave to his descendants, but the same symptoms of power and senility to be found in a large realm are also to be found in his smaller realm.

Some of these people occasionally aspire to the ways of the great rulers who are masters of tribes and families and group feelings, who go into combat and wage wars, and who

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[177] Cf. pp. 119 f., above.

[178] Cf. p. 121 (n. 705), above.

[179] Lit., "trims their scratching fingernails (or claws)."

control large regions and provinces. They adopt the custom of sitting upon a throne. They use an "outfit," [180] organize cavalcades for traveling about the country, use seal rings, are greeted (ceremoniously), and are addressed as Sire (*mawlâ*), which is ridiculous in the eyes of all who can observe the situation for themselves. They adopt royal emblems to which they are not entitled. They were pushed into following such (improper aspirations) only by the dwindling influence of the (ruling) dynasty and the close relationships they had established and that eventually resulted in group feeling. Some of (the people, on the other hand), refrained from (improper aspirations) and lived simply, because they did not want to make themselves the butt of jokes and ridicule.

This happened in our own time in the later (years) of the Ḥafṣid dynasty in Ifrîqiyah to inhabitants of places in the Jarîd, including Tripoli, Gabès, Tozeur (Tûzar), Nafta (Nafṭah), Gafsa (Qafṣah), Biskra and the Zâb, and adjacent regions. They acquired such aspirations when the shadow of the (ruling) dynasty had been receding from them for some decades. They seized power in their respective cities and took control of the judicial and tax administration away from the dynasty. They paid (the ruling dynasty) some obedience and gave (it) reluctant allegiance, and treated (it) with some politeness, kindness, and submissiveness. However, they did not mean it. They passed (their position) on to their descendants, who (are living) at this time. Among their successors, there originated that cruelty and tyranny that is common
II, 269 among the descendants and successors of rulers. They thought that they ranked with (true) rulers, despite the fact that they had only recently been common people.[181]

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[180] Cf. pp. 48 ff., above.

[181] The events referred to here happened before the restoration of Ḥafṣid power under Abû l-'Abbâs. Cf. pp. 93 and 116, above. It is strange to see that only the text of Bulaq adds a reference to Abû l-'Abbâs: "Eventually, our Master, the Commander of the Faithful, Abû l-'Abbâs, made an end to this situation and deprived them of the power they had." Apparently the passage belonged to the Tunis MS written for Abû l-'Abbâs.

Something similar happened also at the end of the Ṣinhâjah dynasty. The inhabitants of the cities of the Jarîd made themselves independent there and seized control of the (ruling) dynasty. Eventually, they were deprived of their power by the *shaykh* and ruler of the Almohads, 'Abd-al-Mu'min b. 'Alî. He transferred all of them from their amirates in the Jarîd to the Maghrib, and removed all traces of them from (the Jarîd), as we shall mention in his history.[182]

The same happened also in Ceuta at the end of the dynasty of the Banû 'Abd-al-Mu'min.

As a rule, such leadership goes to members of great and noble houses who are eligible for the positions of elders and leaders in a city. Sometimes, it goes to some person from the lowest class of people. He obtains group feeling and close contact with the mob for reasons that fate (*al-miqdâr*) produces for him. He, then, achieves superiority over the elders and people of the higher class when they have lost their own group support.

"God has the power to execute His commands." [183]

[22] *The dialects of the urban population.*

The dialects of the urban population follow the language of the nation or race that has control of (the cities in question) or has founded them. Therefore, the dialects spoken in all Muslim cities in the East and the West at this time are Arabic, even though the habit of the Arabic Muḍar language has become corrupted and its vowel endings (*i'râb*) have changed.[184] The reason for this is the fact that the Muslim dynasty gained power over (foreign) nations. Religion and religious organization constitute the *form* for existence and royal authority, which (together) constitute the *matter* II, 270 for (religion).[185] Form is prior to matter. Religion is derived from the religious law, which is in Arabic, because the

[182] Cf. p. 116 (n. 694), above, and the reference to the *'Ibar* given there.

[183] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).

[184] Cf. 3:351 ff., below. The subject dealt with in this section is discussed in much greater detail in the last part of the *Muqaddimah*.

[185] Cf. p. 291 (n. 139), above.

Prophet was an Arab. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid using any language but Arabic in all the provinces of (Islam).

This may be exemplified by 'Umar's prohibition against using the idiom native among the non-Arabs. He said that it is *khibb*, that is, "ruse" and "deceit." Since the religion (Islam) avoided the non-Arab dialects, and the language of the supporters of the Muslim dynasty was Arabic, those (dialects) were avoided altogether in all its provinces, because people follow the government and adopt its religion (ways).[186] Use of the Arabic language became a symbol of Islam and of obedience to the Arabs. The (foreign) nations avoided using their own dialects and languages in all the cities and provinces, and the Arabic language became their language. Eventually, (Arabic) became firmly rooted as the (spoken) language in all their cities and towns. The non-Arab languages came (to seem) imported and foreign there. The Arabic language became corrupt through contact with (foreign languages) in some of its rules [187] and through changes of the word endings, even though it remained unchanged semantically. (This type of Arabic) was called "the sedentary language" (and was used) in all the cities of Islam.

Furthermore, most of the inhabitants of the cities of Islam at this time are descendants of the Arabs who were in possession of these cities and perished in their luxury. They outnumbered the non-Arabs who lived there and inherited their land and country. Now, languages are inherited. Thus, the language spoken by the descendants has remained close to that of their forefathers, even though its rules have gradually become corrupted by contact with non-Arabs. It was called "sedentary" with reference to the inhabitants of settled regions and cities, in contrast to the language of the
II, 271 desert Arabs, which is more deeply rooted in Arabism.

When non-Arabs, such as the Daylam and, after them, the Saljûqs in the East and the Zanâtah and Berbers in the West, became the rulers and obtained royal authority and

[186] Cf. 1:58 (n. 163), above.
[187] Cf. 3:346, below.

control over the whole Muslim realm, the Arabic language suffered corruption. It would almost have disappeared, if the concern of the Muslims with the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, which preserve Islam, had not (also) preserved the Arabic language. This (concern) became an element in favor of the persistence of the sedentary dialect used in the cities as an Arabic (sedentary dialect in its original form). But when the Tatars and Mongols, who were not Muslims, became the rulers in the East, this element in favor of the Arabic language disappeared, and the Arabic language was absolutely doomed. No trace of it has remained in these Muslim provinces: the 'Irâq, Khurâsân, the country of Fârs (southern Persia), Eastern and Western India, Transoxania, the northern countries, and the Byzantine territory (Anatolia). The Arabic methods (*uslûb*) [188] of poetry and speech have disappeared, save for a (remnant). Instruction in (what little Arabic is known) is a technical matter using rules learned from the sciences of the Arabs and through memorizing their speech. (It is restricted) to those persons whom God has equipped for it. The sedentary Arabic dialect has largely remained in Egypt, Syria, Spain, and the Maghrib, because Islam still remains (there) and requires it. Therefore, it has been preserved to some degree. But in the provinces of the 'Irâq and beyond (to the East), no trace or source of (the Arabic language) has remained. Even scientific books have come to be written in the non-Arabic (Persian) language, which is also used for instruction in (Arabic) [189] in class.

God determines night and day.[190]

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[188] Cf. 3:375 ff., below.

[189] *Leg. tadrîsihâ* "instruction in (the sciences)"?

[190] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).

Chapter V

II, *272*

ON THE (VARIOUS) ASPECTS OF MAKING
A LIVING, SUCH AS PROFIT AND THE CRAFTS.
THE CONDITIONS THAT OCCUR IN THIS CONNECTION.
A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ARE CONNECTED
(WITH THIS SUBJECT).

[1] *The real meaning and explanation of sustenance and profit. Profit is the value realized from human labor.*

IT SHOULD BE KNOWN that man, by nature, needs something to feed him and to provide for him in all the conditions and stages of his life from the time of his (early) growth to his maturity and on to his old age. "God is rich, but you are poor." [1] God [2] created everything in the world for man and gave it to him, as indicated in several verses of the Qur'ân. He said: "He created for you everything that is in the heavens and on earth. He subjected the sun and the moon to you. He subjected the sea to you. He subjected the firmament to you. He subjected the animals to you." [3] (The same idea is indicated in) many (other) passages of (the Qur'ân). Man's hand stretches out over the (whole) world and all that is in it, since God made man His representative on earth.

Every man tries to get things; in this all men are alike. II, 273
Thus, whatever is obtained by one is denied to the other, unless he gives something in exchange (for it). When (man) has control of himself and is beyond the stage of (his original) weakness, he strives to make a profit, so that he may spend what God gives him to obtain his needs and necessities through barter. God said: "Thus, ask God for sustenance." [4]

(Man) obtains (some profit) through no efforts of his own, as, for instance, through rain that makes the fields thrive, and similar things. However, these things are only contributory. His own efforts must be combined with them, as will be mentioned. (His) profits will constitute his livelihood, if they correspond to his necessities and needs. They

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[1] Qur'ân 47.38 (40).

[2] Cf. Issawi, pp. 71 f.

[3] Cf. Qur'ân 14.32 f. (37). Cf. also Qur'ân 13.2 (2); 16.12 (12); 22.65 (64); 29.61 (61); 31.20 (19), 29 (28); 35.13 (14); 39.5 (7); 45.12 f. (11 f.).

[4] Qur'ân 29.17 (16).

will be capital accumulation, if they are greater than (his needs). When the use of such accruing or acquired (gain) reverts to a particular human being and he enjoys its fruits by spending it upon his interests and needs, it is called "sustenance." The Prophet said: "The only thing you (really) possess of your property is what you ate, and have thus destroyed; or what you wore, and have thus worn out; or what you gave as charity, and have thus spent." [5]

When (a person) does not use (his income) for any of his interests and needs, it is not called "sustenance." (The part of the income) that is obtained by a person through his own effort and strength is called "profit." For instance, the estate of a deceased person is called "profit" with reference to the deceased person. It is not called "sustenance," because the deceased person has no use for it. But with reference to the heirs, when they use it, it is called "sustenance."

This is the real meaning of "sustenance" among orthodox Muslims. The Mu'tazilah stipulated for the use of the term "sustenance" that it must be possessed rightfully. Whatever is not possessed (rightfully) is not called "sustenance" by
II, 274 them.[6] Wrongfully acquired property or anything forbidden was not admitted by them as something that could be called "sustenance." Yet, God sustains him who acquires property wrongfully, and also the evildoer, the believer as well as the unbeliever. He singles out whomever He wishes for His mercy and guidance. (The Mu'tazilah) have arguments for their theory of "sustenance." This is not the place to discuss them fully.

It should further be known that profit results from the effort to acquire (things) and the intention to obtain (them). Sustenance requires effort and work, even if one tries to get it and ask for it in the proper ways for getting it.[7] God said:

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[5] Cf. *Concordance*, I, 218*b*, ll. 19 ff.

[6] Cf., for instance, E. E. Elder, *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam* (Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. 43) (New York, 1950), pp. 95 f.

[7] Ibn Khaldûn originally wrote "one of the proper ways (*wajhihî*)." In C the correction to *wujûhihî* is still visible.

"Thus, ask God for sustenance." [8] The effort to (obtain sustenance) depends on God's determination and inspiration. Everything comes from God. But human labor is necessary for every profit and capital accumulation. When (the source of profit) is work as such, as, for instance, (the exercise of) a craft, this is obvious. When the source of gain is animals, plants, or minerals, (this is not quite as obvious, but) human labor is still necessary, as one can see. Without (human labor), no gain will be obtained, and there will be no useful (result).

Furthermore,[9] God created the two mineral "stones," gold and silver, as the (measure of) value for all capital accumulations. (Gold and silver are what) the inhabitants of the world, by preference, consider treasure and property (to consist of). Even if, under certain circumstances, other things are acquired, it is only for the purpose of ultimately obtaining (gold and silver). All other things are subject to market fluctuations, from which (gold and silver) are exempt. They are the basis of profit, property, and treasure.

If all this has been established, it should be further known that the capital a person earns and acquires, if resulting from a craft, is the value realized from his labor. This is the meaning of "acquired (capital)." There is nothing here (originally) except the labor, and (the labor) is not desired by itself as acquired (capital, but the value realized from it). II, 275

Some crafts are partly associated with other (crafts). Carpentry and weaving, for instance, are associated with wood and yarn (and the respective crafts needed for their production). However, in the two crafts (first mentioned), the labor (that goes into them) is more important, and its value is greater.

If the profit results from something other than a craft, the value of the resulting profit and acquired (capital) must (also) include the value of the labor by which it was obtained. Without labor, it would not have been acquired.

[8] Qur'ân 29.17 (19).

[9] Cf. Issawi, p. 77.

In most such cases, the share of labor (in the profit) is obvious. A portion of the value, whether large or small, comes from (the labor). The share of labor may be concealed. This is the case, for instance, with the prices of foodstuffs. The labor and expenditures that have gone into them show themselves in the price of grain, as we have stated before.[10] But they are concealed (items) in regions where farming requires little care and few implements. Thus, only a few farmers are conscious of the (costs of labor and expenditures that have gone into their products).

It has thus become clear that gains and profits, in their entirety or for the most part, are value realized from human labor. The meaning of the word "sustenance" has become clear. It is (the part of the profit) that is utilized. Thus, the meaning of the words "profit" and "sustenance" has become clear. The meaning of both words has been explained.

It should be known that when the (available) labor is all gone or decreases because of a decrease in civilization, God permits profits to be abolished. Cities [11] with few inhabitants can be observed to offer little sustenance and profit, or none whatever, because little human labor (is available). Likewise, in cities with a larger (supply of) labor, the inhabitants enjoy more favorable conditions and have more luxuries, as we have stated before.[12]

This is why the common people say that, with the decrease of its civilization, the sustenance of a country disap-
II, *276* pears. This goes so far that even the flow of springs and rivers stops in waste areas. Springs flow only if they are dug out and the water drawn. This requires human labor. (The conditions) may be compared with the udders of animals. Springs that are not dug out and from which no water is drawn are absorbed and disappear in the ground completely. In the same way, udders dry up when they are not milked. This can be observed in countries where springs

[10] Cf. p. 278, above.
[11] Cf. Issawi, p. 95.
[12] Cf. pp. 280 f., above.

existed in the days of their civilization. Then, they fell into ruins, and the water of the springs disappeared completely in the ground, as if it had never existed.

God determines night and day.[13]

[2] *The various ways, means, and methods of making a living.*

It should be known that "livelihood (making a living)" means the desire for sustenance and the effort to obtain it. "Livelihood" (*ma'âsh*) is a *maf'al* formation from *'aysh* "life." The idea is that *'aysh* "life" is obtained only through the things (that go into making a living), and they are therefore considered, with some exaggeration, "the place of life." [14]

Sustenance [15] and profit may be obtained through having the power to take them away from others and to appropriate them according to a generally recognized norm. This is called imposts and taxation.

Or (profit may be obtained) from wild animals by killing or catching them whole on land or in the sea. This is called hunting (fishing).

Or (profit may be obtained) either from domesticated animals by extracting surplus products which are used by the people, such as milk from animals, silk from silk worms, and honey from bees; or from plants such as are planted in fields or grow as trees, through cultivating and preparing them for the production of their fruits. All this is called agriculture.

Or profit may be the result of human labor. (Such labor may be applied) to specific materials. Then it is called a craft, II, 277

[13] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).

[14] According to the principles of Semitic noun formation, a *maf'al* formation—i.e., a formation from a root with the preformative *ma-*—means the place where the action implied in the meaning of the root takes place. Thus, *ma'âsh*, from *'âsha* "to live," would mean "the place where one lives." However, this is certainly not the correct derivation of *ma'âsh*.

This paragraph and other parts of this section have been translated [by H. Pérès], in *Bulletin des études arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 9 f.

[15] Cf. Issawi, pp. 78–80.

such as writing, carpentry, tailoring, weaving, horsemanship, and similar (crafts). Or it may be applied to non-specific materials. This, then, includes all the (other) professions and activities.

Or profit may come from merchandise and its use in barter; (merchants can make such profit) either by traveling around with (the merchandise) in (various) countries, or by hoarding it and observing the market fluctuations which affect it. This is called commerce.

These are the different ways and means of making a living. Certain thorough men of letters and philosophers, such as al-Ḥarîrî [16] and others, had this in mind when they said: "A living is made by (exercising) political power (*imârah*), through commerce, agriculture, or the crafts." (The exercise of) political power is not a natural way of making a living.[17] We do not have to mention it here. Something was said before in the second chapter about governmental tax collection and the people in charge of it.[18] Agriculture, the crafts, and commerce, on the other hand, are natural ways of making a living.

Agriculture is prior to all the other (ways of making a living) by its very nature, since it is something simple and innately natural. It needs no speculation or (theoretical) knowledge. Therefore, (invention) of it is ascribed to Adam, the father of mankind. He is said to have taught and practiced agriculture. This indicates that it is the oldest way of making a living and the one most closely related to nature.

The crafts are secondary and posterior to agriculture. They are composite and scientific. Thinking and speculation

[16] If this is how the name is to be read, it suggests the famous author of the *Maqâmât*, al-Qâsim b. 'Alî, 446–516 [1054/55–1122]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 276 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 486 ff. However, the remark quoted cannot be found in his *Maqâmât* (as de Slane recognized), nor in his lexicographical work, *Durrat al-ghawwâṣ*.

[17] Cf. p. 327, below.

[18] Apparently, a reference to pp. 19 ff., above, in the *third* chapter. De Slane suggested 1:289 f. in Ch. II, above, but only because he misunderstood the last words of the sentence as "people who have to pay taxes."

is applied to them. Therefore, as a rule, crafts exist only among sedentary peoples. (Sedentary culture) is posterior to Bedouin life, and secondary to it. In this sense, their (invention) was ascribed to Idrîs,[19] the second father of mankind. He is said to have invented them with the help of divine revelation for the human beings to come after him. II, 278

Commerce is a natural way of making profits. However, most of its practices and methods are tricky and designed to obtain the (profit) margin between purchase prices and sales prices. This surplus makes it possible to earn a profit. Therefore, the law permits cunning in commerce, since (commerce) contains an element of gambling. It does not, however, mean taking away the property of others without giving anything in return. Therefore, it is legal.[20]

And God knows better.

[3] *Being a servant is not a natural way of making a living.*

The ruler must use the services of men, such as soldiers, policemen, and secretaries, in all the departments of political power (*imârah*) and royal authority with which he has to do. For each department, he will be satisfied with men who, he knows, are adequate, and he will provide for their sustenance from the treasury. All this belongs to political power and the living made out of it. The authority of political administration extends to all these men, and the highest royal authority is the (common) source of (power for) their various branches.

The reason for the existence of servants on a lower level is the fact that most of those who live in luxury are too proud to take care of their own personal needs or are unable to do so, because they were brought up accustomed to indulgence and luxury. Therefore, they employ people who

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[19] Cf. n. 345 to Ch. I, above, and p. 367, below. For his alleged cultural contributions, cf. A. J. Wensinck in *EI*, *s.v.* "Idrîs." However, the attribute "second father of mankind" is not usually applied to him.

[20] This is not the case with gambling or robbery.

will take charge of such things for them. They give these people wages out of their own (money). This situation is not praiseworthy from the point of view of manliness, which is natural to man, since it is (a sign of) weakness to rely on persons (other than oneself). It also adds to one's duties and
II, 279 expenditures, and indicates a weakness and effeminacy that ought to be avoided in the interest of manliness. However, custom causes human nature to incline toward the things to which it becomes used. Man is the child of customs, not the child of his ancestors.[21]

Moreover, satisfactory and trustworthy servants are almost nonexistent. There are just four categories according to which a servant of this (description) [22] can be classified. He may be capable of doing what he has to do, and trustworthy with regard to the things that come into his hands. Or, he may be the opposite in both respects, that is, he may be neither capable nor trustworthy. Or, he may be the opposite in one respect only, that is, he may be capable and not trustworthy, or trustworthy and not capable.

As to the first (kind), the capable and trustworthy servant, no one would in any way be able to secure the employment of such a person. With his capability and trustworthiness, he would have no need of persons of low rank, and he would disdain to accept the wages (they could) offer for (his) service, because he could get more. Therefore, such a person is employed only by amirs who have high ranks, because the need for rank is general.[23]

The second kind, the servant who is neither capable nor trustworthy, should not be employed by any intelligent person, because he will do damage to his master on both counts. On the one hand, he will cause losses to his master through his lack of ability, and on the other hand, he will defraud him

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[21] Cf. 1:258, above.

[22] Lit., "in charge of *that*." The only possible antecedent is provided by the preceding sentence, even though the following classification also includes unsatisfactory or untrustworthy servants.

[23] Cf. Bombaci, p. 450. Apparently, this does not mean that these men can offer their servants high ranks, but that they can offer them the protection of their own high ranks, which is generally needed.

and deprive him of his property. In any event, he is a liability to his master.

No one would (want, or have occasion to) employ these two kinds of servants. Thus, the only thing that remains is to employ servants of the two other kinds, servants who are trustworthy but not capable, and servants who are capable but not trustworthy. There are two opinions among people as to which of the two kinds is preferable. Each has something in its favor. However, the capable (servant), even when he is not trustworthy, is preferable. One can be sure that he will II, 280
not cause any damage, and one can arrange to be on guard as far as possible against being defrauded by him. (The servant) who may cause damage, even when he is reliable, is more harmful than useful, because of the damage caused by him. This should be realized and taken as the norm for finding satisfactory servants.

God has power to do what he wishes.

[4] *Trying to make money from buried and other treasures is not a natural way of making a living.*

It should be known that many weak-minded persons in cities hope to discover property under the surface of the earth and to make some profit from it. They believe that all the property of the nations of the past was stored underground and sealed with magic talismans. These seals, they believe, can be broken only by those who may chance upon the (necessary) knowledge and can offer the proper incense, prayers, and sacrifices to break them.

The inhabitants of the cities in Ifrîqiyah believe that the European Christians who lived in Ifrîqiyah before Islam, buried their property and entrusted its (hiding place) to written lists, until such time as they might find a way to dig it up again. The inhabitants of the cities in the East hold similar beliefs with regard to the nations of the Copts, the Romans (Byzantines), and the Persians. They circulate stories to this effect that sound like idle talk. Thus, a treasure hunter comes to dig where there was money buried, but does

not know the talisman or the story connected with it. As a result, he finds the place empty or inhabited by worms. Or, he
II, 281 sees the money and jewels lying there, but guards stand over them with drawn swords. Or the earth shakes, so that he believes that he will be swallowed up, and similar nonsense.

In the Maghrib there are many Berber "students" [24] who are unable to make a living by natural ways and means. They approach well-to-do people with papers that have torn margins and contain either non-Arab writing or what they claim to be the translation of a document written by the owner of buried treasures, giving the clue to the hiding place. In this way, they try to get their sustenance by (persuading well-to-do people) to send them out to dig and hunt for treasure. They fool them by saying that their only motive in asking for help is their wish to find influential protection against seizure and punishment by (local) authorities. Occasionally, one of these treasure hunters displays strange information or some remarkable trick of magic with which he fools people into believing his other claims, although, in fact, he knows nothing of magic and (magical) procedures.

Most weak-minded people wish to do their digging with others and to be protected by the darkness of night while they do it. They are afraid of watchers and government spies. When they do not turn anything up, they put the blame upon their ignorance of the talisman with which the (buried) money was sealed. Thus they deceive themselves as to the failure of their hopes.

In addition to a weak mind, a (common) motive that leads people to hunt for treasure is their inability to make a living in one of the natural ways that lead to profit, such as commerce, agriculture, or the crafts. Therefore, they try to
II, 282 make a living in devious ways, such as (treasure hunting) and the like, not in one of the natural ways. For they are unable to make the effort necessary to earn something, and they trust that they can gain their sustenance without effort

[24] Cf. 3:270, below, and Ibn al-Khaṭîb, *al-Iḥâṭah fî akhbâr Gharnâṭah* I, 243.

or trouble. They do not realize that by trying to make a living in an improper manner, they plunge themselves into much greater trouble, hardship, and expenditure of energy than otherwise. In addition, they expose themselves to (the risk of) punishment.

Occasionally, a principal motive leading people to hunt for treasure is the fact that they have become used to ever-increasing, limitless luxury and (luxury) customs. As a result, the various ways and means of earning money cannot keep pace with and do not pay for their (luxury) requirements. When such a person cannot earn enough in a natural way, his only way out is to wish that at one stroke, without any effort, he might find sufficient money to pay for the (luxury) habits in which he has become caught. Thus, he becomes eager to find (treasure) and concentrates all his effort upon that. Therefore, most of those who can be observed to be eager to (hunt for treasure) are people used to luxurious living. Among the people of the (various) dynasties and the inhabitants of cities such as Cairo (Egypt), where there is much luxury and (living) conditions are favorable, many are engrossed in the search for (treasure). They question travelers about extraordinary tales of (hidden treasure) with the same eagerness they show for the practice of alchemy.[25] Thus, we hear that the inhabitants of Cairo (Egypt) consult the Maghribî "students" they meet, in hopes that, with their help, they may perhaps hit upon some buried or other treasure. They further investigate (the possibility of) making water disappear in the soil, because they believe that the majority of all buried treasures are to be found in the canals of the Nile and that the Nile largely covers the buried or hoarded treasures in those regions. Persons who possess II, *283*
the (afore-mentioned) forged records fool them with the excuse that the reason they cannot reach the treasures is because the Nile flows there. In this way they cover up their lies. First, they want to make a living. The person who hears their (stories) wants to make the water disappear in the

[25] Cf. 3:267 ff., below.

ground by means of magical operations, so as to obtain what he wants. (People in Egypt) are fond of magic, (a trait) they have inherited from their early forebears in (Egypt). Their magical disciplines and monuments still remain in (Egypt) as the graves (of the ancient Egyptians) and other buildings attest. The story of Pharaoh's magicians testifies to their special (knowledge of magic).[26]

The inhabitants of the Maghrib circulate a poem among themselves which they ascribe to the sages of the East. As one can see, it shows how to make water disappear in the ground by magical means. This is (the poem):

O you who are looking for the secret of how to make water disappear in the ground,
Listen to the word of truth from an expert!
Put aside all the false statements and deceptive remarks
That people have written in books,
And listen to my truthful word and advice,
If you are one of those who do not believe in cheating [being cheated?].
If you seek to make a well disappear, and
How to handle this well has always puzzled the mind,
Make a picture resembling yourself standing, (but)
The head should be that of a young lion, (drawn) as a round shape.
His hands (should) hold the rope that is
Drawing a bucket up from the bottom of a well.
On his breast, there (should be) an *h*, as you may have seen,
(Written three times), the number of divorce. Be careful not to repeat it more often!
It (should) step upon *ṭ*'s without touching (them),
Walking like someone who is courageous, clever, and skillful.

—He means that the *ṭ*'s are in front of (the figure), and it looks as if it were walking upon them—

[26] Cf. Qur'ân 7.110 ff. (113 ff.), etc.

Around the whole, there is a line running,
Which should rather be square than round.
Slaughter a bird over it and smear its (blood) upon it,
And immediately after the slaughtering, go and use incense,
Sandarac, frankincense, storax,
And costus root. And cover it with a silken garment,
A red one or a yellow one, not a blue one.
It should have no green or dark (color) in it.
It should be sewn with threads of white
Or red wool of purest red coloring.
The ascendant should be Leo, as has already been explained, II, 284
And there should be no bright moonlight,[27]
And the [full?] moon should be connected with the lucky position of Mercury.
A Saturday should be the hour of the operation.

My opinion is that this poem is one of the things with which swindlers fool (other people).

These (swindlers) create remarkable situations and employ astounding techniques. They go so far in their devious lies as to take up residence in famous mansions and houses known as (hiding places of treasures). They undertake excavations there and make underground cells [28] and put signs there which they (then) incorporate in their forged lists. Then, they go to some weak-minded person with these lists. They urge him to rent the mansion and live there. They suggest to him that the mansion contains a buried treasure of indescribable magnitude. They ask for money to buy drugs and incense, in order to break the talismans. They condition him by producing the signs they themselves had placed there and that were of their own manufacture. He gets

[27] Bulaq: "And it should be the beginning [*bad'* instead of *badr*] of a month, when there is no bright (moon) light." Since *badr* usually means the full moon, the Bulaq text has something in its favor.

[28] This is the ordinary meaning of *maṭâbiq*, while *"contre-marques,"* as de Slane guessed from the context, is not recorded elsewhere.

excited by the things he sees. He is deceived and taken in by them without knowing it. During these (operations), the (swindlers) use among themselves a (special) linguistic terminology with the help of which they inveigle (their victims), and keep them in ignorance of what they say concerning the digging, incense, slaughtering of animals, and the other such things that they do.

The things that have been said about (treasure hunting) have no scientific basis, nor are they based upon (factual) information. It should be realized that although treasures are (sometimes) found, this happens rarely and by chance, not by systematic search. (The hiding of treasures) is no matter of general concern, such that people would commonly
II, 285 store their money underground and seal it with talismans, either in ancient or in recent times. Buried treasures (*rikâz*), such as are mentioned in the Prophetic traditions and such as the jurists assume to exist [29] — that is, buried in pre-Islamic times — are found by chance, not by systematic search.

Furthermore, why should anyone who hoards his money and seals it with magical operations, thus making extraordinary efforts to keep it concealed, set up hints and clues as to how it may be found by anyone who cares to? Why make a written list of it, so that the people of any period and region could find his treasure? This would contradict the intention of keeping it concealed.

Furthermore, intelligent people act with some definite, useful purpose in mind. A person who hoards his money does so because he wants his children, his relatives, or someone else to get it. No intelligent person tries to hide his money altogether, from everybody. To do so would merely bring about its destruction or loss, or its going to some member of a future nation unknown to him.

The question has been asked: Where is the property of the nations (that came) before us, and where are the abundant riches known to have existed among those nations? (In re-

[29] Cf., for instance, al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, I, 318 f. The problem occupying the jurists was the tax to be paid on such treasures when found.

ply,)[30] it should be known that treasures of gold, silver, precious stones, and utensils are no different from (other) minerals and acquired (capital), from iron, copper, lead, and any other real property[31] or (ordinary) minerals. It is civilization that causes them to appear, with the help of human labor, and that makes them increase or decrease. All such things in people's possession may be transferred and passed on by inheritance. They have often been transferred from one region to another, and from one dynasty to another, in accordance with the purposes they were to serve[31a] and the particular civilization that required them. If money (at this time) is scarce in the Maghrib and Ifrîqiyah, it is not scarce in the countries of the Slavs and the European Christians. If it II, 286
is scarce in Egypt and Syria, it is not scarce in India and China. Such things are merely materials (*âlât*) and acquired (capital). It is civilization that produces them in abundance or causes them to be in short supply. Moreover, minerals are affected by destruction like all other existent things. Pearls and jewels deteriorate more quickly than anything else. Gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin are also affected by destruction and complete annihilation, which destroy their substances in a very short time.

The occurrence of finds and treasures in Egypt is explained by the fact that Egypt was in the possession of the Copts for two thousand[32] or more years. Their dead were buried with their possessions of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls. This was the custom of the people of the old dynasties. When the dynasty of the Copts ended and the Persians ruled Egypt, they searched the graves for such objects and discovered them. They took an indescribably

[30] Cf. Issawi, p. 77.

[31] De Sacy, as quoted by de Slane, thought that the word used here should be read **'aqqârât* and be another plural of *'aqqâr*, instead of the usual *'aqâqîr*, meaning "drugs." However, the plural formation **'aqqârât* seems very unusual, and the ordinary *'aqârât* "real property" fits the context.

[31a] *Aghrâḍihî*, as in Bulaq, may have been the original reading. A and B have *a'wâḍihî* "through exchange." The same form in C appears to be the result of correction. D has *a'râḍihî*.

[32] Bulaq has "thousands." A and B read "one thousand."

large amount of such objects from the graves, from the pyramids, for example, which were the royal graves, and from the other (types of graves). The same was done by the Greeks after them. Those graves afforded opportunities for treasure (hunting and have continued to do so) down to this time. One frequently comes upon buried treasure in them. This may either consist of money buried by the Copts, or (it may be) the specially prepared vessels and sarcophagi of gold and silver with which they honored their dead when they buried them. For thousands of years, the graves of the Copts have been likely to afford opportunities for finding (treasure). Because of the existence of (treasures in graves)
II, 287 the Egyptians have been concerned with the search for treasures and their discovery. When, in the later (years) of a dynasty, duties come to be levied upon various things, they are even levied upon treasure hunters, and a tax has to be paid by those stupid and deluded persons who occupy themselves with (treasure hunting). Greedy people (in the government) who try assiduously to (discover treasures think that they) have thus found the means to discover treasures (for their own benefit) and a promising way to get them out. But all their efforts remain entirely unsuccessful. God is our refuge from perdition.[33]

Those who are deluded or afflicted by these things must take refuge in God from their inability to make a living and their laziness in this respect, just as the Messenger of God took refuge from it and turned away from the ways and delusions of Satan. They should not occupy themselves with absurdities and untrue stories.

"God gives sustenance to whomever He wishes to give it, without accounting." [34]

[5] *Ranks are useful in securing property.*

This [35] is as follows: We find that the person of rank who is highly esteemed is in every material aspect more fortunate

[33] Or "loss (of property)," which would be applicable to the situation.
[34] Qur'ân 2.212 (208); 3.37 (32); 24.38 (38).
[35] Cf. Issawi, p. 86.

and wealthier than a person who has no rank. The reason for this is that the person of rank is served by the labor (of others). They try to approach him with their labor, since they want to be close to (him) and are in need of (the protection) his rank affords. People help him with their labor in all his needs, whether these are necessities, conveniences, or luxuries. The value realized from all such labor becomes part of his profit. For tasks that usually require giving some compensation (to the persons who perform them), he always employs people without giving anything in return. He realizes a II, 288
very high value from their labor. It is (the difference) between the value he realizes from the (free) labor (products) and the prices he must pay for things he needs. He thus makes a very great (profit). A person of rank receives much (free) labor which makes him rich in a very short time. With the passing of days, his fortune and wealth increase. It is in this sense that (the possession of) political power (*imârah*) is one of the ways of making a living, as we have stated before.[36]

The person who has no rank whatever, even though he may have property, acquires a fortune only in proportion to the property he owns and in accordance with the efforts he himself makes. Most merchants are in this position. Therefore, (merchants) who have a rank are far better off (than other merchants).

Evidence for this is the fact that many jurists and religious scholars and pious persons acquire a good reputation. Then, the great mass believes that when they give them presents, they serve God. People, therefore, are willing to help them in their worldly affairs and to work for their interests. As a result, they quickly become wealthy and turn out to be very well off although they have acquired no property but have only the value realized from the labor with which the people have supported them. We have seen much of this in cities and towns as well as in the desert. People do farm work and business for these men, who sit at home and do not leave their places. But still their property grows and their profits increase. Without effort, they accumulate wealth, to the sur-

[36] Cf. p. 316, above.

prise of those who do not understand what the secret of their affluence is, what the reasons for their wealth and fortune are.

"God gives sustenance to whomever He wishes to give it, without accounting." [37]

II, 289 [6] *Happiness and profit are achieved mostly by people who are obsequious and use flattery. Such character disposition is one of the reasons for happiness.*

We have stated before in a previous passage [38] that the profit human beings make is the value realized from their labor. If someone could be assumed to have no (ability whatever to do any) labor, he would have no profit whatever. The value realized from one's labor corresponds to the value of one's labor and the value of (this labor) as compared to (the value of) other labor and the need of the people for it. The growth or decrease of one's profit, in turn, depends on that. We have also just now explained [39] that ranks are useful in securing property. A person of rank has the people approach him with their labor and property. (They do that) in order to avoid harm and to obtain advantages. The labor and property through which they attempt to approach him is, in a way, given in exchange for the many good and bad things they may obtain (or avoid) with the aid of his rank. Such labor becomes part of the profit of (the man of rank), and the value realized from it means property and wealth for him. He thus gains wealth and a fortune in a very short time.

Ranks are widely distributed among people, and there are various levels of rank among them. At the top, they extend to the rulers above whom there is nobody. At the bottom, they extend to those who have nothing to gain or to lose among their fellow men. In between, there are numerous classes. This is God's wise plan with regard to His

[37] Qur'ân 2.212 (208); 3.37 (32); 24.38 (38).
[38] Cf. pp. 313 f., above.
[39] In the preceding section.

creation. It regulates their livelihood, takes care of their interests, and insures their permanency.

The existence and persistence of the human species can materialize only through the co-operation of all men in behalf of what is good for them. It has been established that a single II, 290
human being could not fully exist by himself, and even if, hypothetically, it might happen as a rare exception, his existence would be precarious. Now, such co-operation is obtained by the use of force, since people are largely ignorant of the interests of the (human) species, and since they are given freedom of choice and their actions are the result of thinking and reflection, not of natural (instinct). They thus refrain from co-operating. Therefore, it is obligatory to make them (co-operate), and there must be some motive forcing human beings to take care of their interests, so that God's wise plan as to the preservation of mankind can materialize. This is what is meant by the verse of the Qur'ân: "And we placed some of you over others in various grades, so that they might use the others for forced labor. The mercy of your Lord is better than whatever they gather." [40]

It has, thus, become clear that rank means the power enabling human beings to be active among the fellow men under their control with permission and prohibition, and to have forceful superiority over them, in order to make them avoid things harmful to them and seize their advantages. (They may act) in justice and apply the laws of religion and politics, and (also) follow their own purposes [41] in everything else.

However, the first thing (the just use of rank) was intended by the divine providence as something essential, whereas the second thing (self-seeking use of rank) enters

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[40] Qur'ân 43.32 (31). Ibn Khaldûn's text, as translated, contains some slight variations from the Qur'ân. He was probably influenced by other verses, such as 6.165 (165) and 25.20 (21). In Bulaq and D, the exact text has been re-established.

[41] Since the plural suffix has been used just a few lines above with reference to *bashar* "human beings," it would have been more consistent here to say *aghrâḍihim* instead of *aghrâḍihî*.

into it as something accidental, as is the case with all evils decreed by God. Much good can fully exist only in conjunction with the existence of some little evil, which is the result of matter. The good does not disappear with the (admixture of evil), but attaches itself to the little evil that gathers around it. This is the meaning of the occurrence of injustice in the world. It should be understood.

Each class among the inhabitants of a town or zone of civilization has power over the classes lower than it. Each member of a lower class seeks the support of rank from
II, 291 members of the next higher class, and those who gain it become more active among the people under their control in proportion to the profit they get out of it. Thus, rank affects people in whatever way they make their living. Whether it is influential or restricted depends on the class and status of the person who has a particular rank. If the rank in question is influential, the profit accruing from it is correspondingly great. If it is restricted and unimportant, (the profit) is correspondingly (small). A person who has no rank, even though he may have money, acquires a fortune only in proportion to the labor he is able to produce, or the property he owns, and in accordance with the efforts he makes coming and going [42] to increase it. This is the case with most merchants and, as a rule, with farmers. It also is the case with craftsmen. If they have no rank and are restricted to the profits of their crafts, they will mostly be reduced to poverty and indigence, and they do not quickly become wealthy. They make only a bare living, somehow fending off the distress of poverty.

If this has been established and if it further has become clear that rank is widely distributed and that one's happiness and welfare are intimately connected with the acquisition of (rank), it will be realized that it is a very great and important favor to give away or grant a rank to someone, and that the person who gives it away is a very great benefactor. He gives it only to people under his control. Thus, giving (rank) away (shows) influence and power. Consequently, a person

[42] That is, at any time.

who seeks and desires rank must be obsequious and use flattery, as powerful men and rulers require. Otherwise, it will be impossible for him to obtain any (rank). Therefore, we have stated that obsequiousness and flattery are the reasons why a person may be able to obtain a rank that produces happiness and profit, and that most wealthy and happy people have the quality (of obsequiousness and use flattery). Thus, too, many people who are proud and supercilious have no use for rank. Their earnings, consequently, are restricted II, 292
to (the results of) their own labors, and they are reduced to poverty and indigence.

It should be known that such haughtiness and pride are blameworthy qualities. They result from the assumption (by an individual) that he is perfect, and that people need the scientific or technical skill he offers. Such an individual, for instance, is a scholar who is deeply versed in his science, or a scribe who writes well, or a poet who makes good poetry. Anyone who knows his craft assumes that people need what he has. Therefore, he develops a feeling of superiority to them. People of noble descent, whose forebears include a ruler or a famous scholar, or a person perfect in some position, also share this illusion. They are arrogant because of the position their forebears held in their town. They have seen it themselves or have heard about it. They assume that they deserve a similar position because of their relationship to such men and the fact that they are their heirs. In fact, they cling to something that is a matter of the past, since perfection is not passed on by inheritance.[43] The same is the case with people who are skillful, experienced, and versed in affairs. Some of them assume that they are perfect and needed on that account.

All these types (of people) are found to be proud. They are not obsequious and do not flatter people of a higher station. They belittle all others, because they believe that they are better than other people. One of them may even disdain to be obsequious to a ruler and consider such ob-

[43] "Since . . . inheritance" is not found in Bulaq.

sequiousness humiliating, abasing, and stupid. He expects people to treat him in accordance with what he thinks of himself, and he hates those who in any respect fail to treat
II, 293 him as he expects to be treated. He often gets to feel very anxious and sad, because they fail (to treat him according to his expectations). He always worries much, because people refuse to give him what he considers his due. People, (in turn,) come to hate him, because of the egoism of human nature. Rarely will (a human being) concede perfection and superiority to another, unless he is somehow forced to do so by superior strength. Such (forcefulness and superior strength) is implied in rank. Thus, when a haughty person has no rank — and he cannot have any, as has been explained — people hate him for his haughtiness, and he receives no share of their kindness. He obtains no rank from members of the next higher class, because he is hated (by them), and, therefore, he cannot associate with them and frequent their homes. In consequence, his livelihood is destroyed. He remains in a state of indigence and poverty, or (in a state) that is only a little better. The acquisition of wealth is altogether out of the question for him.

In this (sense), it is widely said among the people that a person who is perfect in knowledge obtains no share (in worldly goods). The knowledge that is given to him is taken into account, and this is set apart as his share (in worldly goods). This is the meaning of it. Everyone is successful at the things for which he was created.[44] God decides. There is no Lord but Him.

In a dynasty, the character quality mentioned may cause disturbances among the ranks. Many people of the low classes come up to fill them, and many people of the higher classes have to step down on that account. The reason is that when a dynasty has reached its limit of superiority and power, the royal clan claims royal and governmental authority exclu-

[44] Cf. 3:109 and 300, below, and Ibn Khaldûn's Ẓâhirîyah lecture, *Autobiography*, p. 286. Variants of this famous tradition are quoted by H. Massé in *Journal asiatique*, CCIII (1923), 330.

sively for itself. Everybody else despairs of (getting any share in) it. (All the other people can only) hold ranks below II, 294
the rank of the ruler and under the control of the government. They are a sort of servant of his. Now, when the dynasty continues and royal authority flourishes, those who go into the service of the ruler, who try to approach him with advice, or who are accepted as followers by him because of their capability in many of his important affairs, will all be equal in rank in his eyes. Many common people will make efforts to approach the ruler with zealous counsel and come close to him through all kinds of services. For this purpose, such people make much use of obsequiousness and flattery toward the ruler, his entourage, and his family, so that eventually they will be firmly entrenched and the ruler will give them a place in the total (picture) of his (administration). Thus, they obtain a large share of happiness and are accepted among the people of the dynasty.

At such a time, the new generation of the dynasty, the children of the people who had seen the dynasty through its difficulties and smoothed its path, are arrogant [45] because of the noteworthy achievements of their forefathers. Because of them, they look down on the ruler. They rely on their influence (lasting) and become very presumptuous.[46] This makes the ruler hate them and keep away from them. He now leans toward those of his followers who do not rely upon any (achievements of the past) and would not think of being presumptuous and proud. Their behavior is characterized by obsequiousness to (the ruler) and flattery (of him) and willingness to work for his purposes whenever he is ready for some undertaking. Their rank, consequently, becomes important. Their stations become high. The outstanding personalities and the elite [47] turn to them, because they receive so many favors from the ruler and have great influ-

[45] A, C, and D read *mu'tazzûna*, as translated. *Mughtarrûna* "are deceived by" is also possible.

[46] Bulaq: "compete with the dynasty."

[47] Bulaq: "(All) faces and thoughts."

ence with him. The new generation of the dynasty, meanwhile, keeps its proud attitude and continues to rely upon the (achievements of the) past. They gain nothing from that. It merely alienates them from the ruler and makes him hate them and give preference to his (newly gained) supporters,
II, 295 until the dynasty is destroyed. This is natural in a dynasty, and this is usually at the origin of the importance of its followers.

God does whatever He wishes.

[7] *Persons who are in charge of offices dealing with religious matters, such as judge, mufti, teacher, prayer leader, preacher, muezzin, and the like, are not as a rule very wealthy.*

The reason for this is that, as we have stated before,[48] profit is the value realized from labor (products). (This value) differs according to the (varying degrees of) need for (a particular kind of labor). Certain (types of) labor (products) may be necessary in civilization and be a matter of general concern. Then, the value realized from (these products) is greater and the need for them more urgent (than otherwise).

Now, the common people have no compelling need for the things that religious (officials) have to offer. They are needed only by those special people who take a particular interest in their religion. (Even) if the offices of mufti and judge are needed in case of disputes, it is not a compelling and general need. Mostly, they can be dispensed with. Only the ruler is concerned with (religious officials) and (religious) institutions, as part of his duty to look after the (public) interests. He assigns (the religious officials) a share of sustenance proportionate to the need that exists for them in the sense (just) mentioned. He does not place them on an equal footing with people who have power or with people who ply the necessary crafts, even if the things that (the religious

[48] Cf. pp. 313 f., above, etc.

officials) have to offer are nobler, as they deal with religion and the legal institutions. He gives them their share in accordance with the general need and the demand of the population (for them). Their portion, therefore, can only be small.

Furthermore, because the things (the religious officials) have to offer are so noble, they feel superior to the people II, 296
and are proud of themselves. Therefore, they are not obsequious to persons of rank, in order to obtain something to improve their sustenance. In fact, they would not have time for that. They are occupied with those noble things they have to offer and which tax both the mind and the body. Indeed, the noble character of the things they have to offer does not permit them to prostitute themselves openly. They would not do such a thing. As a consequence, they do not, as a rule, become very wealthy.

I discussed this with an excellent man. He disagreed with me about it. But some stray leaves from the account books of the government offices in the palace of al-Ma'mûn came into my hand. They gave a good deal of information about income and expenditures at that time. Among the things I noticed, were the salaries of judges, prayer leaders, and muezzins. I called the attention of (the person mentioned) to it, and he realized that what I had said was correct. He became a convert to (my opinion), and we were both astonished at the secret ways of God with regard to His creation and His wise (planning) concerning His worlds.

God is the Creator, and He decides.

[8] *Agriculture is a way of making a living for weak people and Bedouins in search of subsistence.*

This [48a] is because agriculture is a natural and simple procedure. Therefore, as a rule, sedentary people, or people who live in luxury, do not practice it. Those who practice it are characterized by humility. When Muḥammad saw a plowshare in one of the houses of the Anṣâr (in Medina), he said:

[48a] Cf. [H. Pérès], *Bulletin des études arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 10 f.

"Such a thing never entered anyone's house save accompanied by humbleness." [49] Al-Bukhârî explained this (statement) as referring to too intense an occupation with (agriculture) and he entitled the chapter in which he dealt with the tradition in
II, 297 question: "Warning against the consequences of (too intensive an) occupation with agricultural implements or transgression of the stipulated limit." (However,) the reason for it might possibly be that imposts come to be (exacted from farmers) and lead to (their) domination and control (by others). The person who has to pay imposts is humble and poor, because a superior force takes (his possessions) away (from him). Muḥammad said: "The Hour will not arise until the charity tax becomes an impost." [50] This refers to the tyrannical ruler who uses force against the people, who is domineering and unjust, and who forgets the divine rights of (private) capital and considers all rights to be (subject to) imposts (to be paid) to rulers and dynasties.

God has power to do what He wishes.

[9] *The meaning, methods, and different kinds of commerce.*[51]

It should be known that commerce means the attempt to make a profit by increasing capital, through buying goods at a low price and selling them at a high price, whether these goods consist of slaves, grain, animals, weapons, or clothing material. The accrued (amount) is called "profit" (*ribḥ*).

The attempt to make such a profit may be undertaken by storing goods and holding them until the market has fluctu-

[49] Cf. 1:289 f., above.

[50] Cf. Majd-ad-dîn Ibn al-Athîr, *Nihâyah*, III, 180: "The person who has to pay the charity tax (*zakâh*) considers it an illegal impost" (like the many other illegal imposts levied by the government at that time, which he is unwilling to pay. He suspects the ruler of keeping it for his own purposes, instead of using it as prescribed by the religious law.) Cf. also the version of the tradition quoted by al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-dhahab*, IV, 169: "My nation will continue to be well off so long as it does not consider faith a gratuitous gain and the charity tax an impost." Cf. also Ibn Durayd, *Mujtanâ* (Hyderabad, 1362/1943), p. 33.

[51] For this and the following sections, one may compare ad-Dimashqî, *al-Ishârah ilâ maḥâsin at-tijârah*, tr. H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 1–91.

ated from low prices to high prices. This will bring a large profit. Or, the merchant may transport his goods to another country where they are more in demand than in his own, where he bought them. This, (again,) will bring a large profit.

Therefore, an old merchant said to a person who wanted to find out the truth about commerce: "I shall give it to you in two words: Buy cheap and sell dear.[52] There is commerce for you." By this, he meant the same thing that we have just established. II, *298*

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid." [53]

[10] *The transportation of goods by merchants.*[54]

The merchant who knows his business will travel only with such goods as are generally needed by rich and poor, rulers and commoners alike. (General need) makes for a large demand for his goods. If he restricts his goods to those needed only by a few (people), it may be impossible for him to sell them, since these few may for some reason find it difficult to buy them. Then, his business would slump, and he would make no profit.

Also, a merchant who travels with needed goods should do so only with medium quality goods. The best quality of any type of goods is restricted to wealthy people and the entourage of the ruler. They are very few in number. As is well known, the medium quality of anything is what suits most people. This should by all means be kept in mind by the merchant, because it makes the difference between selling his goods and not selling them.

Likewise, it is more advantageous and more profitable for

[52] In 1952 a book by Frank V. Fischer appeared, entitled *Buy Low—Sell High: Guidance for the General Reader in Sound Investment Methods and Wise Trade Techniques.*

[53] Qur'ân 51.58 (58).

[54] Bulaq and E have section (13) and the earlier text of section (14) at this place. In C, too, section (14) originally followed here, but it was crossed out and replaced by the new text of section (14) in the later place. Bulaq also has the new text of section (14) there. The other MSS follow the arrangement of the sections adopted in this translation.

the merchant's enterprise, and a better guarantee (that he will be able to take advantage of) market fluctuations, if he brings goods from a country that is far away and where there is danger on the road. In such a case, the goods transported will be few and rare, because the place where they come from is far away or because the road over which they come is beset with perils, so that there are few who would bring them, and they are very rare. When goods are few and rare, their prices go up. On the other hand, when the country is near and the road safe for traveling, there will be many to transport the goods. Thus, they will be found in large quantities, and the prices will go down.

Therefore, the merchants who dare to enter the Sudan
II, 299 country are the most prosperous and wealthy of all people. The distance and the difficulty of the road they travel are great. They have to cross a difficult desert which is made (almost) inaccessible by fear (of danger) and beset by (the danger of) thirst. Water is found there only in a few well-known spots to which caravan guides lead the way. The distance of this road is braved only by a very few people. Therefore, the goods of the Sudan country are found only in small quantities among us, and they are particularly expensive. The same applies to our goods among them.

Thus, merchandise becomes more valuable when merchants transport it from one country to another. (Merchants who do so) quickly get rich and wealthy. The same applies to merchants who travel from our country to the East, also because of the great distance to be traversed. On the other hand, those who travel back and forth between the cities and countries of one particular region earn little and make a very small profit, because their goods are available in large quantities and there is a great number of merchants who travel with them.

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid." [55]

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[55] Qur'ân 51.58 (58).

[11] *Hoarding.*

Intelligent and experienced people in the cities know that it is inauspicious to hoard grain and to wait for high prices, and that the profit (expected) may be spoiled or lost through (hoarding). The reason may perhaps lie in the facts that people need food, and that the money they spend on it, they are forced to spend. Therefore, their souls continue to cling to (their money). The fact that souls cling to what is theirs may be an important factor in bringing bad luck to the person who takes (someone's money) giving nothing in return.[56] This, perhaps, is what the Lawgiver (Muḥammad) meant II, 300
when he speaks about taking people's property for nothing. In this particular case, it is not a question of (taking money) giving nothing in return. Still, people cling to (the money spent for food); they had to spend it and had no possible excuse, which is a sort of compulsion.

For things that are traded, other than foodstuffs and victuals, people have no compelling need. It is merely the diversification of desires that calls their attention to them. On such, they spend their money voluntarily and willingly, and they retain no hankering after (the money) they have paid. Thus, the person known to be a hoarder is persecuted by the combined psychic powers of the people whose money he takes away. Therefore, he loses his profit. And God knows better.

In this connection, I heard an interesting story about a *shaykh* of the Maghrib. Our teacher Abû 'Abdallâh al-Âbilî told it to me as follows: "I was in the house of the (chief) judge of Fez, in the time of Sultan Abû Sa'îd. He was the jurist Abû l-Ḥasan al-Malîlî. He had just been offered, as his salary, the choice of one of the various sorts [56a] (of taxes)

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[56] *Majjânan* is crossed out in C and is not found in A or D. For the idea expressed in this paragraph, cf. Matt. 6:21, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

[56a] *Alqâb.* Cf. above, p. 111, l. 9.

that were collected by the government." He said: "The judge reflected a while. Then he said: 'The customs duties on wine.' Those of his friends who were present were amused and astonished. They questioned him as to what was in his mind. He replied: 'All tax money is forbidden. Therefore, I choose the tax that is not haunted by the souls of those who had to pay it. Rarely would anybody spend his money on wine unless he were gay and happy with the experience [57] of (drinking wine), and did not regret it. His soul, therefore, does not cling to the money he has had to spend.' " This is a remarkable observation.

And God knows better.

II, 301 [12] (*Continued*) *low prices are harmful to merchants who* (*have to*) *trade at low prices.*[58]

This is because, as we have stated before,[59] profit and livelihood result from the crafts or from commerce. Commerce means the buying of merchandise and goods, storing them, and waiting until fluctuation of the market brings about an increase in the prices of (these goods). This is called profit (*ribḥ*). It provides a profit (*kasb*) and a livelihood for professional traders. When [60] the prices of any type of goods, victuals, clothing material, or anything else (that may bring in) capital, remain low and the merchant cannot profit from any fluctuation of the market affecting these things, his profit and gain stop if the situation goes on for a long period. Business in this particular line (of goods) slumps, and the merchant has nothing but trouble. No (trading) will be done, and the merchants lose their capital.

This may be exemplified in the instance of grain. While it remains cheap, the condition of all farmers and grain producers who have to do with any of the various stages of grain production is adversely affected, the profit they make being

[57] *Bi-wijdânihî*. Cf. n. 277 to Ch. 1, above.

[58] This and the following sections, (13) and the later text of (14), are found in C on an inserted sheet.

[59] Cf. pp. 315 f., above.

[60] Cf. Issawi, pp. 75 f.

small, insignificant, or non-existent. They cannot increase their capital, or they find (the increase) to be small. They have to spend their capital. Their condition is adversely affected, and they are reduced to poverty and indigence. This then, in turn, affects the condition of millers, bakers, and all the other occupations that are connected with grain from the time it is sown to the time it can be eaten. Likewise, the condition of soldiers is adversely affected. Their sustenance is provided by the ruler in the form of grain from farmers, through the grant of fiefs. Thus, (when the prices of agricultural products are low) the income from taxation [61] is small, and soldiers are unable to render the military service for which they exist and for which they receive sustenance from the ruler. Thus, (the ruler) discontinues their sustenance, and their condition is adversely affected. II, *302*

Likewise, while the prices of sugar and honey remain low, everything connected with (these commodities) is adversely affected, and the merchants who deal in it stop trading. The same is the case with clothing (material), while prices remain low. Thus, prices that are too low destroy the livelihood of the merchant who trades in any particular type of low-priced (merchandise). The same applies to prices that are too high. Occasionally and rarely, they may bring an increase in capital as a result of hoarding (some particular merchandise) and the large profit that goes with (hoarding), but it is medium prices and rapid fluctuations of the market that provide people with their livelihood and profit.

This insight has a bearing upon customs established among civilized people. Low prices for grain, and of other things that are traded, are praised, because the need for grain is general and people,[62] the rich as well as the poor,

[61] That is, the payments that the holder of a fief exacts from his tenants.

[62] From here to the end of the section, E reads: ". . . and people are compelled to buy food. Thus, food merchants get some compensation for fluctuations of the market (resulting in low prices) through the general (large) demand for the goods they hold, namely, foodstuffs. Thus, they receive some compensation for (the profit) that would escape them (because of the low prices)."

are compelled to buy food. Dependent people constitute the majority of people in civilization. Therefore, (low prices for foodstuffs) are of general usefulness, and food, (at least) as far as this particular kind of food (namely, grain) is concerned, weighs more heavily than commerce.[63]

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid." [64]

[13] *The kind of people who should practice commerce, and those who should not.*

We [65] have stated before that commerce means increasing one's capital by buying merchandise and attempting to sell it for a price higher than its purchase price.[66] (This may be done) either by waiting for market fluctuations, or by transporting the merchandise to a country where that particular merchandise is more in demand and brings higher prices, or
II, 303 by selling it for a high price to be paid at a future date.[67] The profit is small in relation to the (invested) capital. However, when the capital is large, the profit becomes great, because many times a little is much.

In the attempt to earn the increase (of capital) that constitutes the profit, it is unavoidable that one's capital gets into the hands of traders, in the process of buying and selling and waiting for payment. Now, honest (traders) are few. It is unavoidable that there should be cheating, tampering with the merchandise which may ruin it, and delay in payment which may ruin the profit, since (such delay) while it lasts prevents any activity that could bring profit. There will also be non-acknowledgment or denial of obligations, which may prove destructive of one's capital unless (the obligation) has been stated in writing and properly witnessed. The judiciary is of little use in this connection, since the law requires clear evidence.

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[63] Intimating that a low price for foodstuffs is not economically sound, but generally desired and politically desirable.

[64] Qur'ân 51.58 (58).

[65] Cf. Issawi, pp. 68 f.

[66] Cf. pp. 336 f., above.

[67] I.e., commodity futures.

All this causes the merchant a great deal of trouble. He may make a small profit, but only with great trouble and difficulty, or he may make no profit at all, or his capital may be lost. If he is not afraid of quarrels, knows (how to settle) an account, and is always willing to enter into a dispute and go to court, he stands a better chance of being treated fairly by (traders), because he is not afraid and always ready to enter into a dispute. Otherwise, he must have the protection of rank. It will give him respect in the eyes of traders and cause the magistrates to uphold his rights against his debtors.[68] In this way, he will obtain justice and recover his capital from them, voluntarily in the first case, forcibly in the second.

On the other hand, the person who is afraid or unaggressive, and who, in addition, lacks the influence (of rank) with the judiciary, must avoid commerce. He risks the loss of his capital. He will become the prey of traders, and he may not II, 304
get his rights from them. People as a rule covet the possessions of other people. Without the restraining influence of the laws, nobody's property would be safe. This applies especially to traders and the low-class mob. "If God did not keep human beings apart, the earth would perish. But God shows His bounty to the worlds." [69]

* [14] *The character qualities of merchants are inferior to those of leading personalities and remote from manliness.*[70]

In [71] the preceding section, we stated that a merchant must concern himself with buying and selling, earning money and making a profit. This requires cunning, willingness to enter into disputes, cleverness, constant quarreling, and great persistence. These are things that belong to commerce. They are qualities detrimental to and destructive of virtuousness

[68] Bulaq: "against the persons with whom he has been dealing."

[69] Qur'ân 2.251 (252).

[70] The text printed in italic type on the lower part of pp. 344 f. is that of the earlier stage of the *Muqaddimah*. See n. 54 to this chapter, above.

[71] Cf. Issawi, pp. 69 f.

and manliness, because it is unavoidable that actions influence the soul. Good actions influence it toward goodness and virtue. Evil and deceitful actions influence it in the opposite sense. If (evil and deceitful actions) come first [72] and good qualities later, the former become firmly and deeply rooted and detract from the good qualities, since the blameworthy influence (of the evil actions) has left its imprint upon the soul, as is the case with all habits that originate from actions.

These influences differ according to the different types of merchants. Those who are of a very low type and associated
II, 305 closely with bad traders who cheat and defraud and perjure themselves, asserting and denying statements concerning transactions and prices, are much more strongly affected by these bad character qualities. Deceitfulness becomes their main characteristic. Manliness is completely alien to them, beyond their power to acquire. At any rate, it is unavoidable that their cunning and their willingness to enter into disputes affects their manliness (adversely). The complete absence of (any adverse effect) is very rare among them.

There exists a second kind of merchant, which we mentioned in the preceding section, namely, those who have the protection of rank and are thus spared (the onus) of having

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[14] The character qualities of merchants are inferior to those of noblemen and rulers.

This is because merchants are mostly occupied with buying and selling. This necessarily requires cunning. If a merchant always practices cunning, it becomes his dominant character quality. The quality of cunning is remote from that of manliness which is the characteristic quality of rulers and noblemen.

If the character of (the merchant) then adopts the bad qualities that follow from (cunning) in low-class merchants, such as quarrelsomeness, cheating, defrauding, as well as (the inclination to) commit perjury in rejecting and accepting statements con-

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[72] A and B add: "and are repeated."

anything to do personally with such (business manipulations).[73] They are most uncommon. For they are people who have all of a sudden come into the possession of a good deal of money in some unusual way, or have inherited money from a member of their family. Thus, they have obtained the wealth that helps them to associate with the people of the dynasty and to gain prominence and renown among their contemporaries. Therefore, they are too proud to have anything personally to do with such (business manipulations), and they leave them to the care of their agents and servants. It is easy for them to have the magistrates confirm their rights, because (the magistrates) are familiar with their beneficence and gifts. (These merchants) will thus be remote from such (bad) character qualities, since they have nothing to do with the actions that bring them about, as has just been mentioned. Their manliness, therefore, will be very firmly rooted and very remote from these destructive qualities, save for the influences of such evil actions as may slip in behind the scenes.[74] For they are compelled to supervise their agents and to concur with or oppose the things they do and do not do. However, these (activities) are limited, and their influence is scarcely perceptible.

"God created you and whatever you do." [75] *

cerning prices, his character can be expected to be one of the lowest sort, for well-known reasons.[76] *It is because of the character that one acquires through the practice of commerce that political leaders avoid engaging in it. There are some merchants who are not affected by those character qualities and who are able to avoid them, because they have noble souls and are magnanimous, but they are very rare in this world.*

"God guides whomever He wants to guide" [77] *with His bounty and generosity. He is the Lord of the first ones and the last ones.*

[73] Cf. Bombaci, pp. 450 f.

[74] Lit., "veil."

[75] Qur'ân 37.96 (94).

[76] *Leg. ka-mâ* "as is well known."

[77] Qur'ân 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc. The remaining words are not in E.

II, 306 [15] *The crafts require teachers.*

It [78] should be known that a craft is the habit [79] of something concerned with action and thought. In as much as it is concerned with action, it is something corporeal and perceptible by the senses. Things that are corporeal and perceptible by the senses are transmitted through direct practice more comprehensively and more perfectly (than otherwise), because direct practice is more useful with regard to them.

A habit is a firmly rooted quality acquired by doing a certain action and repeating it time after time, until the form of (that action) is firmly fixed.[80] A habit corresponds to the original (action after which it was formed). The transmission of things one has observed with one's own eyes is something more comprehensive and complete than the transmission of information and things one has learned about. A habit that is the result of (personal observation) is more perfect and more firmly rooted than a habit that is the result of information. The skill a student acquires in a craft, and the habit he attains, correspond to the quality of instruction and the habit of the teacher.

Furthermore, some crafts are simple, and others are composite. The simple ones concern the necessities. The composite ones belong to the luxuries. The simple crafts are the ones to be taught first, firstly because they are simple, and (then) because they concern the necessities and there is a large demand for having them transmitted. Therefore, they take precedence in instruction. (But) the instruction in them, as a consequence, is something inferior.

The mind, (however,) does not cease transforming all kinds of (crafts), including the composite ones, from potentiality into actuality through the gradual discovery of one thing after the other, until they are perfect. This is not
II, 307 achieved all at one stroke. It is achieved in the course of time

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[78] Cf. Issawi, pp. 140 f.
[79] Cf. 1:lxxxiv, above.
[80] Cf. 3:342 and 394 (n. 1538), below.

and of generations. Things are not transformed from potentiality into actuality all at one stroke, especially not technical matters. Consequently, a certain amount of time is unavoidable. Therefore, the crafts are found to be inferior in small cities, and only the simple (crafts) are found there. When sedentary civilization in (those cities) increases, and luxury conditions there cause the use of the crafts, they are transformed from potentiality into actuality.[81]

And God knows better.

[16] *The crafts are perfected only if there exists a large and perfect sedentary civilization.*

The reason for this is that, as long as sedentary civilization is not complete and the city not fully organized, people are concerned only with the necessities of life, that is, with the obtaining of food, such as wheat and other things. Then, when the city is organized and the (available) labor increases and pays for the necessities and is more than enough (for the inhabitants), the surplus is spent on luxuries.

The crafts and sciences are the result of man's ability to think, through which he is distinguished from the animals. (His desire for) food, on the other hand, is the result of his animal and nutritive power. It is prior to sciences and crafts because of its necessary character. (The sciences and crafts) come after the necessities. The (susceptibility) of the crafts to refinement, and the quality of (the purposes) they are to serve in view of the demands made by luxury and wealth, then correspond to the civilization of a given country.

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[81] Bulaq has here some lines that Ibn Khaldûn obviously omitted in the later versions because the following section made them superfluous: "The crafts are also divided into those concerned with making a living, whether necessary or unnecessary (crafts); into sciences and crafts concerned with the ability to think, which is a quality peculiar to man; and < into those concerned with > politics. The first group includes the crafts of the weaver, the butcher, the carpenter, the smith, and similar crafts. The second group includes the production of books, which means the manufacture of books by means of copying and binding them, (and, further,) singing, poetry, scientific instruction, and similar things. The third group includes soldiering and similar crafts."

II, 308 A small or Bedouin civilization needs only the simple crafts, especially those used for the necessities, such as (the crafts of) the carpenter, the smith, the tailor, the butcher, or the weaver. They exist there. Still, they are neither perfect nor well developed. They exist only in as much as they are needed, since all of them are means to an end and are not intended for their own sake.

When civilization flourishes and the luxuries are in demand, it includes the refinement and development of the crafts. Consequently, (these crafts) are perfected with every finesse, and a number of other crafts, in addition to them, is added, as luxury customs and conditions demand. Among (such crafts are) those of the cobbler, the tanner, the silk weaver,[82] the goldsmith, and others. When the civilization is fully developed, these different kinds (of crafts) are perfected and refined to the limit. In the cities, they become ways of making a living for those who practice them. In fact, they become the most lucrative activities there are, because urban luxury demands them. Other such crafts are those of the perfumer, the coppersmith, the bath attendant, the cook, the biscuit baker, the *harîsah* baker,[83] the teacher of singing, dancing, and rhythmical drum beating. There are also the book producers who ply the craft of copying, binding, and correcting books. This (last mentioned) craft is demanded by the urban luxury of occupation with intellectual matters. There are other similar (crafts). They become excessive when civilization develops excessively. Thus, we learn that there are Egyptians who teach dumb creatures like birds and domestic donkeys,[84] who produce marvelous spectacles which
II, 309 give the illusion that objects are transformed, and who teach the use of the camel driver's chant,[85] how to dance and walk

[82] *Al-ḥarrâr* seems clearly indicated in C. The other MSS suggest other, doubtful readings.

[83] Cf. p. 302, above.

[84] Cf. p. 432, below.

[85] *Al-ḥidâ'*, which could hardly mean anything else. "Teaching (taming) kites" does not seem a plausible translation. I wonder whether the word might not be a technical term for certain of the motions of ropedancers.

on ropes stretched in the air, how to lift heavy animals and stones, and other things. These crafts do not exist among us in the Maghrib, because the civilization of (Maghribî) cities does not compare with the civilization of Egypt and Cairo.

God is wise and knowing.[86]

[17] *The crafts are firmly rooted in a city (only) when sedentary culture is firmly rooted and of long duration.*

The reason for this is obvious. All crafts are customs and colors of civilization. Customs become firmly rooted only through much repetition and long duration. Then, their coloring becomes firmly established and rooted in (successive) generations. Once such coloring is firmly established, it is difficult to remove it. Therefore, we find that cities with a highly developed sedentary culture, the civilization (population) of which has receded and decreased, retain traces of crafts that do not exist in other more recently civilized cities, even though they may have reached the greatest abundance (of population). This is only because conditions in those (cities) with the old civilization had become well established and firmly rooted through their long duration and constant repetition, whereas the (other recently civilized cities) have not yet reached the limit.[87]

This is the situation, for instance, in contemporary Spain. There we find the crafts and their institutions still in existence. They are well established and firmly rooted, as far as the things required by the customs of (Spanish) cities are concerned. (They include,) for instance, building, cooking, the various kinds of singing and entertainment, such as instrumental music, string instruments and dancing, the use of carpets in palaces, the construction of well-planned, well- II, 310
constructed houses, the production of metal and pottery vessels, all kinds of utensils, the giving of banquets and weddings, and all the other crafts required by luxury and luxury

[86] Cf. Qur'ân 2.32 (30), etc.
[87] Cf. Bombaci, pp. 451.

customs. One finds that they practice and understand these things better (than any other nation) and that they know well the crafts that belong to them. They have an abundant share of these things and have distinctly more of them than any other city, even though civilization in (Spain) has receded and most of it does not equal that which exists in the other countries of the (Mediterranean) shore. This is only because, as we have mentioned before,[88] sedentary culture had become deeply rooted in Spain through the stability given it by the Umayyad dynasty, the preceding Gothic dynasty, and the *reyes de taïfas*, successors to (the Umayyads), and so on. Therefore, sedentary culture had reached in (Spain) a stage that had not been reached in any other region except, reportedly, in the 'Irâq, Syria, and Egypt. There, too, the reason was the long duration of the respective dynasties. Thus, the crafts became well established there. All the various kinds of crafts were developed and refined to perfection. Their coloring remained in that civilization and did not leave it, until it was totally destroyed. Like a garment's fast color, (the color held fast until the garment was destroyed).

This was also the case in Tunis. A sedentary culture had been established there by the Ṣinhâjah (Zîrid) dynasty and its successors, the Almohads. The crafts were developed to perfection in every respect, though less so than in Spain. However, sedentary culture in Tunis has been greatly enriched by sedentary institutions imported from Egypt. The distance between the two countries is short, and travelers from Tunis visit Egypt every year. Also, (Tunisians) often live in (Egypt) for some time, and then bring back the
II, 311 (Egyptian) luxury customs and technical knowledge they like.[89] Thus, the situation with regard to (sedentary culture in Tunis) has become similar to that of Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and also to that of Spain, because many people from eastern Spain who were exiled in the seventh [thir-

[88] Cf. p. 288, above.
[89] Cf. Bombaci, p. 451.

teenth] century settled in Tunis.[90] Thus, certain aspects of (sedentary culture) have become firmly rooted there, even though the civilization (population) of (Tunis) at this time is not adequate to them. However, a fast coloring rarely changes, except when its basis ceases to exist. Thus, we also find in al-Qayrawân, in Marrakech, and in Qal'at Ibn Ḥammâd some remnants of such (sedentary culture). All these places, it is true, are nowadays in ruins or destined soon to fall into ruins, and only people who know are able to discern these remnants. They will find, however, traces of the crafts (there) showing what once existed there, like faded writing in a book.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [91]

[18] *Crafts can improve and increase only when many people demand them.*

The [92] reason for this is that man cannot afford to give away his labor for nothing, because it is his (source of) profit and livelihood.[93] Throughout his life, he has no advantage from anything else. Therefore, he must employ his labor only on whatever has value in his city, if it is to be profitable to him.

If a particular craft is in demand and there are buyers for it, (that) craft, then, corresponds to a type of goods that is in great demand and imported for sale. People in the towns, therefore, are eager to learn (that particular) craft, in order II, *312*
to make a living through it. On the other hand, if a particular craft is not in demand, there are no buyers for it, and no one is interested in learning it. As a result, (the craft) is destined to be left alone and disappears because of neglect.

Therefore, it has been said on the authority of 'Alî: "Every man's value consists in what he knows well." [94] This

[90] Cf. pp. 24 and esp. 290, above.
[91] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).
[92] Cf. Issawi, pp. 72 f.
[93] Cf. pp. 311 ff., above.
[94] This is often quoted. Cf., for instance, Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyûn al-akhbâr*, II, 120; ath-Tha'âlibî, *I'jâz* (Cairo, 1897), p. 27; Ibn Bassâm, *Dhakhîrah* (Cairo, 1361/1942), I 2, 437.

means that the craft he knows constitutes his value, that is, the value realized from his labor, which is his livelihood.

There is another secret to be understood in this connection. That is, that it is the ruling dynasty that demands crafts and their improvement. It causes the demand for them and makes them desirable. Crafts not in demand with the dynasty may be in demand with the other inhabitants of a city. However, that would not be the same thing, for the dynasty is the biggest market.[95] There, everything can be marketed. It does not make any difference whether it is little or much. Whatever is in demand with the dynasty is of necessity a major article. On the other hand, the demand of the common people for a particular craft is not general, nor is the business that the common people can provide of large volume.

God has power to do what He wishes.

[19] *The crafts recede from cities that are close to ruin.*

This is because of what we have explained. The crafts can improve only when they are needed and when they are in demand with many people. When the condition of a city weakens and senility sets in as the result of a decrease of its civilization and the small number of its inhabitants, luxury in the city decreases and (its inhabitants) revert to restricting themselves to the necessities. The crafts belonging to luxury conditions and which depend on (luxury) become few. The master of (a particular craft) is no longer assured of making
II, *313* a living from it. Therefore, he deserts (his craft) for another, or he dies and leaves no successor. As a result, the institutions of the crafts disappear altogether. Thus, for instance, painters, goldsmiths, calligraphers, copyists, and similar artisans who cater to luxury needs disappear. The crafts continue to decrease, as long as the city continues to decrease, until they no longer exist.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [96]

[95] Cf. also 1:46 f., and pp. 102 and 287, above.

[96] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[20] *The Arabs, of all people, are least familiar with crafts.*

The [97] reason for this is that the Arabs are more firmly rooted in desert life and more remote from sedentary civilization, the crafts, and the other things which sedentary civilization calls for, (than anybody else). (On the other hand,) the non-Arabs in the East and the Christian nations along the shores of the Mediterranean are very well versed in (the crafts), because they are more deeply rooted in sedentary civilization and more remote from the desert and desert civilization (than others). They do not even have camels, which make it possible for the Arabs to retreat far into the wilderness of the desert, nor do they have pastures for (camels) or sand suitable for their breeding.[98]

Therefore, we find that the homelands of the Arabs and the places they took possession of in Islam had few crafts altogether, so that (crafts) had to be imported from other regions. One may observe the great number of crafts in non-Arab countries such as China, India, the lands of the Turks, and the Christian nations, and the fact that other nations imported (their own crafts) from them.

The non-Arabs in the West, the Berbers, are like the Arabs in this respect, because for a very long period they remained firmly rooted in desert life. This is attested by the small number of cities in the (Berber) region, as we have stated before.[99] The crafts in the Maghrib, therefore, are few in number and are not well established. Exceptions are the weaving of wool and the tanning and stitching of leather. For, when they settled down, they developed these (crafts) greatly, because they were matters of general concern and (the wool and leather) needed for them were the most common raw materials in their region, on account of the Bedouin conditions prevailing among them. II, *314*

[97] Cf. Issawi, pp. *54* f.
[98] Cf. 1:*251* and *265*, above.
[99] Cf. pp. *266* f., above.

On the other hand, the crafts had been firmly rooted in the East for a very long period, ever since the rule of the ancient nations, the Persians, the Nabataeans, the Copts, the Israelites, the Greeks, and the Romans (Rûm). Thus, the conditions of sedentary culture became firmly rooted among them. It included the crafts, as we have stated before. Their traces have not been wiped out.

The Yemen, al-Baḥrayn, Oman, and the Jazîrah have long been in Arab possession, but for thousands of years, the rule of these areas has belonged to different (Arab) nations in succession. They also founded cities and towns (there) and promoted the development of sedentary culture and luxury to the highest degree. Among such nations were the ʿÂd and the Thamûd, the Amalekites and the Ḥimyar after them, the Tubbaʿs, and the other South Arabian rulers (Adhwâʾ). There was a long period of royal authority and sedentary culture. The coloring of (sedentary culture) established itself firmly. The crafts became abundant and firmly rooted. They were not wiped out simultaneously with (each ruling) dynasty, as we have stated. They have remained and have always renewed themselves down to this time, and they have become the specialty of that area. Such (special Yemenite) crafts are embroidered fabrics, striped cloth, and finely woven garments and silks.[100]

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

II, *315* [21] *The person who has gained the habit of a particular craft is rarely able afterwards to master another.*

A [101] tailor, for instance, who has acquired the habit of tailoring and knows it well and has that habit firmly rooted in his soul, will not afterwards master the habit of carpentry or construction, unless the first habit was not yet firmly established and its coloring not yet firmly rooted.

[100] Cf. R. B. Serjeant, "Islamic Textiles," Ch. xv, in *Ars Islamica*, XIII–XIV (1948), 80 f.

[101] Cf. Issawi, pp. 142 f. The thesis enounced in this section plays a considerable role in the subsequent discussion. Cf., for instance, 3:372 f., below.

The reason for this is that habits are qualities and colors of the soul. They do not come all at once. A person who is still in his natural state has (an) easier (time) acquiring certain habits and is better prepared to gain them. When the soul has been colored by a habit, it is no longer in its natural state, and it is less prepared (to master another habit), because it has taken on a certain coloring from that habit. As a result, it is less disposed to accept (another) habit.

This is clear and attested by (the facts of) existence. One rarely finds a craftsman who, knowing his craft well, afterwards acquires a good knowledge of another craft and masters both equally well. This extends even to scholars whose habit has to do with thinking. (The scholar) who has acquired the habit of one particular science and masters it completely will rarely achieve the same mastery of the habit of another science, and if he were to study (another science), he would, except under very rare circumstances, be deficient in it. The reason lies in the significance attaching, as we have mentioned, to preparedness and the fact that he becomes colored by the color that the soul receives from the habit it acquires.

And God knows better.

[22] *A brief enumeration of the basic crafts.* II, *316*

It [102] should be known that the crafts practiced by the human species are numerous, because so much labor is continually available in civilization. They are so numerous as to defy complete enumeration. However, some of them are necessary in civilization or occupy a noble (position) because of (their) object. We shall single these two kinds out for mention and leave all others.

Necessary (crafts) are agriculture, architecture, tailoring, carpentry, and weaving. Crafts noble because of (their) object are midwifery, the art of writing, book production, singing, and medicine.

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[102] Cf. Issawi, pp. 83 f.

Midwifery is something necessary in civilization and a matter of general concern, because it assures, as a rule, the life of the new-born child. The object of (midwifery) is new-born children and their mothers.

Medicine preserves the health of man and repels disease. It is a branch of physics. Its object is the human body.

The art of writing, and book production, which depends on it, preserve the things that are of concern to man and keep them from being forgotten. It enables the innermost thoughts of the soul to reach those who are far and absent.[103] It perpetuates in books the results of thinking and scholarship. It makes four [104] out of the (three) orders of existence (as it constitutes a special order of existence) for ideas.

Singing is the harmony of sounds and the manifestation of their beauty to the ears.

All these three crafts call for contact with great rulers in their privacy and at their intimate parties. Thus, they have nobility that other (crafts) do not have. The other crafts are,
II, 317 as a rule, secondary and subordinate. (The attitude toward them, however,) differs according to the different purposes and requirements.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [105]

[23] *The craft of agriculture.*[106]

The fruit of this craft is the obtainment of foodstuffs and grains. People must undertake to stir the earth, sow, cultivate the plants, see to it that they are watered and that they grow until they reach their full growth, then, harvest the ears, and get the grain out of the husks. They also must

[103] Cf. p. 6, above, and p. 377, below; and, for instance, F. Rosenthal, "Abû Ḥaiyân al-Tawḥîdî on Penmanship," *Ars Islamica*, XIII–XIV (1948), 11.

[104] *Râbi'ah* seems to be the reading of all MSS. The three orders of existence referred to here are the mineral, plant, and animal worlds. Bulaq reads *râfi'ah* "lifts up the (various) orders of existence toward the ideas."

[105] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[106] Agriculture is again treated as a science, 3:151 f., below. Cf. [H. Pérès], in *Bulletin des études arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 9 ff.

understand all the related activities, and procure all the things required in this connection.

Agriculture is the oldest of all crafts, in as much as it provides the food that is the main factor in perfecting human life, since man can exist without anything else but not without food. Therefore, this craft has existed especially in the desert, since, as we have stated before, it is prior to and older than sedentary life.[107] Thus, it became a Bedouin craft which is not practiced or known by sedentary people, because all their conditions are secondary to those of desert life and their crafts, thus, secondary and subsequent to (Bedouin) crafts.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [108]

[24] *The craft of architecture.*

This is the first and oldest craft of sedentary civilization. It is the knowledge of how to go about using houses and mansions for cover and shelter.[109] This is because man has the natural disposition to reflect upon the outcome of things. Thus, it is unavoidable that he must reflect upon how to avert the harm arising from heat and cold by using houses which have walls and roofs to intervene between him and those things on all sides. This natural disposition to think, which is the real meaning of humanity, exists among (men) in different degrees. Some men are more or less temperate in this respect. They use (housing) with moderation, as, for instance, the inhabitants of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth zones. The inhabitants of the first and seventh zones, on the other hand, are unfamiliar with the use of (housing), because they are intemperate and their thinking does not go far enough to enable them to practice human

II, *318*

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[107] Cf. p. *316*, above.

[108] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[109] Ibn Khaldûn's early version of this and the following page was rather heavily corrected. Down to p. 358, l. 14, the text is not yet found in Bulaq, A, or E, and still appears as a marginal addition in C.

crafts. Therefore, they take shelter in caverns and caves, just as they (also) eat unprepared and uncooked food.[110]

Now, the temperate people who use houses for shelter become very numerous and have many houses in one area. They become strangers to each other and no longer know each other. They fear surprise attacks at night. Therefore, they must protect their community by surrounding it with a wall to guard them. The whole thing thus becomes a single town or city in which they are guarded by authorities which keep them apart.[111] They (also) need protection against the enemy. Thus, they use fortresses and castles for themselves and for the people under their control. These men (who control fortresses and castles) are like rulers or amirs or tribal chieftains of a corresponding position.

Also, building conditions are different in the (various) towns. Each city follows in this respect the procedure known to and within the technical (competence) of (its inhabitants) and corresponding to the climate and the different conditions of (the inhabitants) with regard to wealth and poverty. The situation of the inhabitants within each individual city also
II, *319* (differs). Some use castles and far-flung constructions comprising a number of dwellings and houses and rooms, because they have a great number of children, servants, dependents, and followers. They make their walls of stones, which they join together with quicklime. They cover them with paint and plaster, and do the utmost to furnish and decorate everything. (They do so) in order to show how greatly they are concerned for their shelter. In addition, they prepare cellars and underground rooms for the storage of their food, and also stables for tying up their horses,[112] if they are army people and have many followers and guests, such as amirs and people of a corresponding position.

Others build a small dwelling or house for themselves and for their children to live in. Their desire goes no farther,

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[110] Cf. 1:119 and 168, above.

[111] Cf. Bombaci, p. 452.

[112] Cf. 1:19, above.

because their situation permits them no more. Thus, they restrict themselves to a mere shelter, which is natural to human beings. Between the two (extremes), there are innumerable degrees.

Architecture is also needed when rulers and people of a dynasty build large towns and high monuments (*hayâkil*). They try their utmost to make good plans and build tall structures with technical perfection, so that (architecture) can reach its highest development. Architecture is the craft that satisfies requirements in all these respects. It is found most (widely represented) in the temperate zones, that is, in the fourth zone and the adjacent area. In the intemperate zones, there is no building activity. The people there use enclosures of reeds and clay as houses, or take shelter in caverns and caves.[113]

The architects who exercise the craft differ. Some are intelligent and skillful. Others are inferior.

Furthermore, (architecture) has many subdivisions. Thus, II, 320
the building material may be smoothed [114] stones or bricks.[115] The walls made of (such material) are joined and firmly held together by clay and quicklime. They thus hold together as fast as if they were of one piece.

Another (material) is simply earth. One builds walls with it by using [116] two wooden boards, the measurements of which vary according to (local) custom. The average measurements are four cubits by two. They are set upon a foundation. The distance between them depends on the width of the foundation the builder considers appropriate. They are joined together with pieces of wood fastened [117] with ropes or twine. The two remaining sides of the empty space between the

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[113] The reference to caverns and caves is found only in C, as a marginal addition. Bulaq, A, and B have instead: "(Building activity) is found only in the temperate zones."

[114] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 163.

[115] "Bricks" is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

[116] This is the reading of C (in the margin) and D. The earlier texts have: "In this connection, one uses . . ."

[117] *Leg.* *'alayhimâ* instead of *'alayhâ* "fastened to the two boards"?

two boards are joined by two other small boards. Then, one puts earth mixed with quicklime into (this frame). The earth and quicklime are pounded with special mixers used only for this purpose, until everything is well mixed throughout. Earth is then added a second and third time, until the space between the two boards is filled. The earth and quicklime have combined and become one substance. Then, two other boards are set up in the same fashion, and (the earth) is treated in the same manner, until it is ready. (All) the boards [118] are then properly set up piece upon piece, until the whole wall is set up and joined together as tightly as if it were of one piece. This construction is called *ṭâbiyah*,[119] and the builder of it is called *ṭawwâb*.

Another technique of construction is the covering of walls with quicklime. The quicklime is first diluted with water and let soak for a week or two depending on how long is required for it to become well-balanced in its temper and to
II, *321* lose any excess igneousness detrimental to its adhesiveness. When this process is completed to the satisfaction of (the builder), he puts it on the wall beginning at the top and rubs it in until it sticks.

Another technique of construction is roofing. Pieces of wood (beams), either carefully smoothed by a carpenter or left rough, are placed over two walls of the house, and more boards are placed on top of them. They are joined together with nails. Upon that, earth and quicklime are poured. They are pounded with mixers until they combine and hold together. The roof is thus covered with quicklime (plaster), exactly as the walls were covered with it.

Another technique of construction is decoration and ornamentation. Thus, figures formed from gypsum are placed upon the walls. (The gypsum) is mixed with water, and then solidified again, with some humidity remaining in it. Sym-

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[118] I.e., the pieces that have been cemented together.

[119] Spanish *tapia*, Portuguese *taipa*. Cf. E. Laoust in *Hespéris*, XVIII (1934), 113. To connect the word with Egyptian *ṭûb* "adobe" seems plausible, but does not appear to be certain or generally accepted.

metrical figures are chiseled out of it with iron drills, until it looks brilliant and pleasant. The walls are occasionally also covered with pieces of marble, brick, clay, shells (mother-of-pearl), or jet.[120] (The material) may be divided either into identically shaped or differently shaped pieces. These pieces are arranged in whatever symmetrical figures and arrangements are being utilized by the (various artisans), and set into the quicklime (with which the walls have been covered). Thus, the walls come to look like colorful flower beds.

There are (other techniques of construction), such as the construction of wells and cisterns for running water. In the houses, large, well-cut marble basins are prepared. They have orifices in the middle to permit the water of the cistern to flow out. The water comes to the cistern from the outside through conduits bringing it into the houses.

There are other similar kinds of architectural activity. The workmen who do all these things differ in skill and intelligence. They grow in number when the civilization of a town increases and widens. II, *322*

The authorities often have recourse to the opinions of these men, about construction matters which they understand better. For in towns with large populations, people live in very crowded conditions. Therefore, they compete with each other for space and air above and below and for the use of the outside of a building. The owner fears lest (any encroachment) cause damage [121] to the walls, and, therefore, forbids it to his neighbor, except where the neighbor has a legal right to it. (People) also have differences over right-of-way and about outlets for running water and about refuse disposed of through subterranean conduits. Occasionally,

[120] Cf. p. 270, above. A, B, C, and D here have *az-zabaj*, a form C corrects in the margin to *as-sabaj*.

[121] The work on building laws by the Tunisian Ibn ar-Râmî (d. 734 [1334]; cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, II, 346), the text of which was not available to me, shows the great concern of contemporary jurists with preventing "damage" (*ḍarar*) being done to a person's property. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 183.

someone claims somebody else's right to (use of) a wall, eaves, or a gutter,[122] because the houses are so close to each other. Or someone may claim that his neighbor's wall is in bad condition and he fears that it will collapse. He needs a judgment against the other party from an expert [123] to force the other party to tear the wall down and prevent damage to the neighbor(ing house). Or, a house or courtyard has to be divided between two parties, so that no damage to the house or curtailment of its usefulness is caused, and similar things.

All these matters are clear only to those who know architecture in all its details. They can judge these details by looking at the joints and ties and the wooden parts.[124] (They can see whether) the walls are leaning over or are straight, (whether) dwellings are divided as required by their construction and (intended) use, and (whether) water can flow in and out the conduits without causing harm to the houses or walls it flows through, and other things. They know about them and have the experience that others do not have.

II, *323* However, the quality of (architects) differs in the different groups. It depends on the (ruling) dynasties and their power. We have stated before [125] that the perfection of the crafts depends on the perfection of sedentary culture and their extent (depends) on the number of those who demand them. At the beginning, the dynasty is a Bedouin one, and therefore needs for its construction activities (the help of) other regions. This was the case when al-Walîd b. 'Abd-al-Malik decided to build the mosques of Medina and Jerusalem and his own mosque in Damascus. He sent to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople for workmen skilled in construction

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[122] *Qanâh* does not refer here to the "subterranean conduits" but to rain gutters. This meaning is attested in Spanish usage; cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 414*b*.

[123] *'inda man yarâhu*, lit., "with one who sees (what the matter is with) it."

[124] *Marâkiz al-khashab*, with reference to the construction technique described above, pp. 359 f.

[125] Cf. pp. 347 ff., above.

work, and the Byzantine emperor sent him enough men to build these mosques as he had planned them.[126]

Architects also make some use of geometry (engineering). For instance, they use the plumb to make walls perpendicular, and they use devices for lifting water, to make it flow, and similar things. Thus, they must know something about the problems connected with (engineering). They also must know how to move heavy loads with the help of machines. Big blocks of large stones cannot be lifted into place on a wall by the unaided strength of workmen alone. Therefore, the architect must contrive to multiply the strength of the rope by passing it through holes, constructed according to geometrical proportions, of the attachments called *mîkhâl* "pulleys." [127] They make the load easier to lift, so that the intended work can be completed without difficulty. This can be achieved only with the help of geometrical (engineering) principles which are commonly known among men. Such things made it possible to build the (ancient) monuments that are standing to this day. They are believed to have been built in pre-Islamic times and by persons whose bodies were (of a size) corresponding (to the) large (size of the monuments). This is not so. (The people who built them) used engineering devices, as we have mentioned.[128] This should be understood. II, *324*

"God creates whatever He wishes." [129]

[25] *The craft of carpentry.*

This craft is one of the necessities of civilization. Its material is wood. This is as follows: God made all created things useful for man, so as to supply his necessities and needs. Trees belong among these things. They have innumerable uses known to everybody. One of their uses is their use as wood when they are dry. The first use of wood is as wood for

[126] Cf. pp. *262* f., above.

[127] The reference to the word *mîkhâl* is added in the margin of C and incorporated in the text of D. Cf. n. 12 to Ch. IV, above.

[128] Cf. I:*356* ff., and pp. *238* ff., above.

[129] Qur'ân 3.47 (42), etc.

fires, which man needs to live; as sticks for support, protection (of flocks), and other necessities; and as supports for loads that one fears might topple over. After that, wood has other uses, for the inhabitants of the desert as well as for those of settled areas.

Bedouins use wood for tent poles and pegs, for camel litters for their women, and for the lances, bows, and arrows they use for weapons. Sedentary people use wood for the roofs of their houses, for the locks of their doors, and for chairs to sit on. Wood is the raw material for all these things. The particular form needed in each case is the result of craftsmanship. The craft concerned with that and which gives every wooden object its form is carpentry in all its different grades.

The master of (this craft) must first split the wood into smaller pieces or into boards.[130] Then, he puts these pieces together in the required form. In this connection, he attempts
II, *325* with the aid of his craft to prepare these pieces by the proper arrangement for (their) becoming parts of the (desired) particular shape. The man in charge of this craft is the carpenter. He is necessary to civilization. Then, when sedentary culture increases and luxury makes its appearance and people want to use elegant types of roofs, doors, chairs, and furniture, these things come to be produced in a most elegant way through mastery of remarkable techniques which are luxuries and in no way necessities. Such (techniques) include, for instance, the use of carvings for doors and chairs. Or, one skillfully turns and shapes pieces of wood in a lathe, and then one puts these pieces together in certain symmetrical arrangements and nails them together, so that they appear to the eye to be of one piece. They consist of different shapes all symmetrically combined. This is done with all the (possible) shapes into which wood may be cut, which turn out to be very elegant things. The same applies to all wooden utensils (*âlât*) of whatever kind.

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[130] Cf. 3:355, below.

Carpentry is also needed for the construction of ships, which are made of boards and nails. Ships are bodies (constructed with the help) of geometry (engineering), fashioned after the form of a fish and the way a fish swims in the water with its fins and belly. The shape is intended to make it easier for the ship to brave the water. Instead of the animal motion that the fish has, the ship is moved by the winds. It is often supported by the movement of oars, as is the case in (naval) fleets.

In view of its origin, carpentry needs a good deal of geometry of all kinds. It requires either a general or a II, *326* specialized knowledge of proportion and measurement, in order to bring the forms (of things) from potentiality into actuality in the proper manner, and for the knowledge of proportions one must have recourse to the geometrician. Therefore, the leading Greek geometricians were all master carpenters. Euclid,[131] the author of the *Book of the Principles*, on geometry, was a carpenter and was known as such. The same was the case with Apollonius, the author of the book on *Conic Sections*, and Menelaus,[132] and others.

It is said that Noah taught carpentry (first) in the world. With its help, he constructed the ship of salvation (the Ark) with which he performed his (prophetical) miracle [133] during the Flood. This story may be possible, that is, (Noah) may have been a carpenter. However, there is no reliable proof that he was the first to practice (carpentry), because (the event) lies so far back in the past. (The story) serves to indicate the great age of carpentry. There is no sound infor-

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[131] Cf. 3:130, below. Not Euclid, but Apollonius was known to Arabic tradition as a carpenter. Cf. Ibn an-Nadîm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72), p. 260; (Cairo, 1348/1929–30), p. 372; Ṣâ'id al-Andalusî, *Ṭabaqât al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, p. 70; al-Qifṭî, *Ta'rîkh al-ḥukamâ'*, ed. Müller-Lippert, p. 61.

[132] Cf. 3:131, below.

[133] I.e., the miracle that marked him as a prophet. Noah is said to have been guided in the building of the Ark by divine revelation. (Cf. the chapter on Noah in ath-Tha'labî, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyâ'*.) However, the statement that he was the first carpenter is not in the mainstream of Muslim tradition concerning Noah, but rather runs counter to it.

mation about its (existence) before the story of Noah. Therefore, he was, in a way, considered the first to learn it. The true secrets (significance) of the crafts in the world should be understood.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [134]

[26] *The craft of weaving and tailoring.*

It [135] should be known that people who are temperate in their humanity cannot avoid giving some thought to keeping warm, as they do to shelter. One manages to keep warm by using woven material as protective cover against both heat and cold. This requires the interlacing of yarn, until it turns out to be a complete garment. This is spinning and weaving.

II, 327 Desert people restrict themselves to this. But people who are inclined toward sedentary culture cut the woven material into pieces of the right size to cover the form of the body and all of its numerous limbs in their various locations. They then put the different pieces together with thread, until they turn out to be a complete garment that fits the body and can be worn by people. The craft that makes things fit is tailoring.

These two crafts are necessary in civilization, because human beings must keep warm.

The purpose of (weaving) is to weave wool and cotton yarn in warp and woof and do it well, so that the texture will be strong. Pieces of cloth of certain measurements are thus produced. Some are garments of wool for covering. Others are garments of cotton and linen for wear.

The purpose of tailoring is to give the woven material a certain form in accordance with the many different shapes and customs (that may occur in this connection). The material is first cut with scissors into pieces that fit the limbs of the body. The pieces are then joined together with the help of skillful tailoring according to the rules, either by the use of thread,

[134] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[135] The first two paragraphs, the contents of which correspond roughly to the last paragraph of the section, are not yet found in Bulaq, A, or E, and are also missing in D. They appear in the margin of C and in the text of B.

or with bands, or (one) quilts (them), or cuts openings.[136] This (craft) is restricted to sedentary culture, since the inhabitants of the desert can dispense with it. They merely cover themselves with cloth. The tailoring of clothes, the cutting, fitting, and sewing of the material, is one of the various methods and aspects of sedentary culture.

This should be understood, in order to understand the reason why the wearing of sewn garments is forbidden on the pilgrimage. According to the religious law, the pilgrimage requires, among other things, the discarding of all worldly attachments and the return to God as He created us in the beginning. Man should not set his heart upon any of his luxury customs, such as perfume, women, sewn garments, or II, *328* boots. He should not go hunting or expose himself to any other of the customs with which his soul and character have become colored. When he dies, he will necessarily lose them (anyhow). He should come (to the pilgrimage) as if he were going to the Last Judgment, humble in his heart, sincerely devoted to his Lord. If he is completely sincere in this respect, his reward will be that he will shed his sins (and be) like he was on the day when his mother gave birth to him. Praised be You! How kind have You been with Your servants and how compassionate have You been with them in their search for guidance toward You!

These two crafts are very ancient in the world, because it is necessary for man in a temperate civilization to keep warm. The inhabitants of less temperate, hotter zones do not need to keep warm. Therefore, we hear that the Negro inhabitants of the first zone are mostly naked. Because of the great age of these crafts, they are attributed by the common people to Idrîs, the most ancient of the prophets.[137] They are also often

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[136] The exact meaning of the various words denoting different kinds of sewing is uncertain. Cf. also 3:*355*, below. The word translated here "cuts openings," appears as an adjective qualifying the long trousers (*as-sarawîl al-mufattaḥah aṭ-ṭiwâl*) allegedly worn by certain Christian soldiers in the Sudan, in Ibn Ḥawqal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938–39), I, 58, l. 20.

[137] Cf. p. 317 (n. 19), above.

attributed to Hermes.[138] Hermes is said to be identical with Idrîs.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [139]

[27] *The craft of midwifery.*

Midwifery is a craft that shows how to proceed in bringing the new-born child gently out of the womb of his mother and how to prepare the things that go with that. It also shows what is good for (a new-born child), after it is born, as we shall mention. The craft is as a rule restricted to women, since they, as women, may see the pudenda of other women. The woman who exercises this craft is called midwife
II, 329 (*qâbilah*, literally, "the woman who receives"). The word implies the meaning of *giving* and *receiving*. The woman in labor in a way *gives* the embryo to the midwife, and the latter *receives* it.

This is as follows: When the embryo has gone through all its stages [140] and is completely and perfectly formed in the womb—the period God determined for its remaining in the womb is as a rule nine months—it seeks to come out, because God implanted such a desire in (unborn children). But the opening is too narrow for it, and it is difficult for (the embryo to come out). It often splits one of the walls of the vagina by its pressure, and often the close connection and attachment of (its) covering membranes with the uterus are ruptured. All this is painful and hurts very much. This is the meaning of labor pains. In this connection, the midwife may offer some succor by massaging the back, the buttocks, and the lower extremities adjacent to the uterus. She thus stimulates the activity of the (force) pushing the embryo out, and facilitates the difficulties encountered in this connection as much as she

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[138] Hermes Trismegistos is occasionally identified with Idrîs in Arabic sources, as early, for instance, as Abû Ma'shar, *Ulûf*, quoted by Ṣâ'id al-Andalusî, *Ṭabaqât al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, pp. 54 f.; al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-dhahab*, I, 73; al-Mubashshir b. Fâtik, *Mukhtâr al-ḥikam*, chapter on Hermes; al-Qifṭî, *Ta'rîkh al-ḥukamâ'*, p. 2.

[139] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[140] As indicated in the Qur'ân. Cf. p. 425, and 3:275, below.

can. She uses as much strength as she thinks is required by the difficulty of (the process). When the embryo has come out, it remains connected with the uterus by the umbilical cord at its stomach, through which it was fed. That cord is a superfluous special limb for feeding the child. The midwife cuts it but so that she does not go beyond the place where (it starts to be) superfluous and does not harm the stomach of the child or the uterus of the mother. She then treats the place of the operation with cauterization or whatever other treatment she sees fit.

When the embryo comes out of that narrow opening with its humid bones that can easily be bent and curved, it may happen that its limbs and joints change their shape, because they were only recently formed and because the substances II, 330
(of which it consists) are humid. Therefore, the midwife undertakes to massage and correct (the new-born child), until every limb has resumed its natural shape and the position destined for it, and (the child) has again its normal form. After that, she goes back to the woman in labor and massages and kneads her, so that the membranes of the embryo may come out. They are sometimes somewhat late in coming out. On such an occasion, it is feared that the constricting power (muscle) might resume its natural position before all the membranes are brought out. They are superfluities. They might become putrid, and their putridity might enter the uterus, which could be fatal. The midwife takes precautions against that. She tries to stimulate the ejection, until the membranes which are late in coming out come out, too.

She then returns to the child. She anoints its limbs with oils and dusts it with astringent powders, to strengthen it and to dry up the fluids of the uterus. She smears something upon the child's palate to lift its uvula. She puts something into its nose, in order to empty the cavities of its brain. She makes it gargle with (swallow) an electuary, in order to prevent its bowels from becoming obstructed and their walls from sticking together.

Then, she treats the woman in labor for the weakness

caused by the labor pains and the pain that the separation causes her uterus. Although the child is no natural limb (of the mother), still, the way it is created in the uterus causes it to become attached (to the body of the mother) as if it were an inseparable limb (of her body). Therefore, its separation causes a pain similar to that caused by the amputation (of a limb). (The midwife) also treats the pain of the vagina that was torn and wounded by the pressure of (the child) coming out.

All these are ills with the treatment of which midwives are better acquainted (than anyone else). We likewise find them better acquainted than a skillful physician with the means of treating the ills affecting the bodies of little children from the time they are sucklings until they are weaned. This
II, 331 is simply because the human body, at this stage, is only potentially a human body. After (the child) is weaned, (its body) becomes actually a human one. Then, its need for a physician is greater (than its need for a midwife).

One can see that this craft is necessary to the human species in civilization. Without it, the individuals of the species could not, as a rule, come into being. Some individuals of the species may be able to dispense with this craft. God may arrange it for them that way as a miracle and extraordinary wonder. This, for instance, may be done for the prophets. Or there may be some instinct and guidance given to the child through instinct and natural disposition. Thus, such children may come into existence without the help of midwives.

The miraculous kind (of births) has often occurred. It has, thus, been reported that the Prophet was born with the umbilical cord cut and circumcised, placing his hands upon the earth and turning his eyes toward heaven. The same applies to Jesus (who spoke) in the cradle,[141] and other things.

The instinctive kind (of births) is not unknown. Since

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[141] Cf. pp. 185 f., above.

dumb animals, such as, for instance, bees and others,[142] have remarkable instincts, why should one not assume the same for man who is superior to them, and especially for those human beings who are singled out by acts of divine grace? Furthermore, the common instinct of new-born children that causes them to seek their mother's breast is a clear testimony to the existence of an instinct in them. The ways of divine foresight are too great to be grasped completely.

This explains the incorrectness of the opinion of al-Fârâbî and the Spanish philosophers. They argue for the non-existence of (the possibility) of a destruction of the various species (of beings) and the impossibility of an end of created things, especially of the human species. They say that once there has been an end to (the existence of) individuals of (the human species), a later existence of them would be impossible. (Their existence) depends upon the existence II, *332* of midwifery, without which man could not come into being, since even if we were to assume that a child might (come into existence) without the help of this craft and without being taken care of by (this craft) until it was weaned, still, it could certainly not survive. (For not only midwifery but also other crafts are needed. However,) the crafts cannot possibly exist without the ability to think, because they are the fruit of thinking and depend on it.

Avicenna undertook the refutation of this opinion, because he was opposed to it and admitted the possibility of an end of the various species (of beings) and of the destruction of the world of creation and its subsequent re-establishment as a consequence of astronomical requirements and strange (astral) positions which, he thought, take place rarely over very long intervals of time. It requires the fermentation, with the help of appropriate heat, of a kind of clay that corresponds to the temper of (the being to be created). Thus, it comes to be a human being. Then, an animal is destined for that human being. In that animal, an instinctive (desire) is created (which

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[142] Cf. 1:84, above.

is directed) toward bringing that human being up and being kind to him, until he exists fully and is weaned. Avicenna explained this lengthily in the treatise which he entitled the *Treatise of Ḥayy b. Yaqẓân*:[143]

His argumentation is not correct. We agree with him in regard to the (possibility of the) end of the various species (of beings), but not on the basis of his arguments. His argumentation depends on relating actions to a cause that makes (them) necessary. The theory of the "voluntary agent" [144] is a proof against him. According to the theory of the "voluntary agent," there is no intermediary between the actions and the primeval power, and there is no need for such (a difficult) task. If we accepted (Avicenna's argumentation) for the sake of the argument, (we might say that) it is saying no more than that the continued existence of the individual is the consequence of the instinctive desire to bring him up which has been created in dumb animals. What, then, would be the necessity that might call for (such a procedure), and further, if such an instinctive desire can be created in a dumb animal, what would prevent its creation in the child itself, as we (for our part) assumed at the beginning? It is more likely that an instinct directed toward his own interests is created in an
II, *333* individual than that one directed toward the interests of someone else is created in (someone). Thus, both theories (that of al-Fârâbî and that of Avicenna) prove themselves wrong in their particular approach, as I have established.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [145]

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[143] Avicenna says nothing of the sort in the *Treatise of Ḥayy b. Yaqẓân*, as published by A. F. Mehren, *Traités Mystiques* (Leiden, 1889), Vol. I. Cf. also the recent editions by A. Amîn (Cairo, 1952), and H. Corbin.

However, there is some similarity between Ibn Khaldûn's statément and Ibn Ṭufayl's famous work on Ḥayy b. Yaqẓân. Ibn Khaldûn apparently used some work based on Ibn Ṭufayl, which quoted specific theories as going back to al-Fârâbî and Avicenna. Cf. also H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire* (Collection du millénaire d'Avicenne, No. 25) (Teheran, 1952–54), II, 152–54.

[144] Cf. 1:188 f., above.

[145] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

[28] *The craft of medicine.*[146] *The craft of medicine is needed in settled areas and cities but not in the desert.*

This craft is necessary in towns and cities because of its recognized usefulness. Its fruit is the preservation of health among those who are healthy, and the repulsion of illness among those who are ill, with the help of medical treatment, until they are cured of their illnesses.

It should be known that the origin of all illnesses is in food, as Muḥammad said in the comprehensive tradition on medicine, that is reported among physicians but suspected by the religious scholars.[147] He said: "The stomach is the home of disease. Dieting is the main medicine. The origin of every disease is indigestion." The statement: "The stomach is the home of disease," is obvious. The statement: "Dieting is the main medicine," is to be understood in the sense that *ḥimyah* "dieting" means "going hungry," since hunger means refraining (*iḥtimâ'*) from food. Thus, the meaning is that hunger is the greatest medicine, the origin of all medicines. The statement: "The origin of every disease is indigestion," is to be understood in the sense that *baradah* "indigestion" is the addition of new food to the food already in the stomach before it has been digested.

(The statement lends itself to) the following comment. God created man and preserves his life through nourishment. He gets it through eating, and he applies to it the digestive and nutritive powers, until it becomes blood fitting for the flesh and bone parts of the body. Then, the growing power II, *334* takes it over, and it is turned into flesh and bones. Digestion means that the nourishment is boiled by natural heat, stage by

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[146] Medicine is again treated as a science, 3:148 ff., below.

[147] The relative clause is added in the margin of C, and incorporated in the text of D. Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyûn al-anbâ'*, I, 112, ascribes the tradition to the legendary early physicians al-Ḥârith b. Kaladah (3:150, below) and 'Abd-al-Malik b. Abjar, as well as to Muḥammad. Cf. also al-Ghazzâlî, *Iḥyâ'* (Cairo, 1352/1933), III, 75.

stage, until it actually becomes a part of the body. This is to be explained as follows. The nourishment that enters the mouth and is chewed by the jaws undergoes the influence of the heat of the mouth, which boils it slightly. Thus, its composition is slightly altered. This can be observed in a bit of food that is taken and chewed well. Its composition then can be observed to be different from that of the (original) food.

The food then gets into the stomach, and the heat of the stomach boils it, until it becomes chyme, that is, the essence of the boiled (food).[148] (The stomach) sends (the chyme) on into the liver, and ejects the part of the food that has become solid sediment in the bowels, through the two body openings. The heat of the liver then boils the chyme, until it becomes fresh blood. On it, there swims a kind of foam as the result of the boiling. (That foam) is yellow bile. Parts of it become dry and solid. They are black bile. The natural heat is not quite sufficient to boil the coarse parts. They are phlegm. The liver then sends all (these substances) into the veins and arteries. There, the natural heat starts to boil them. The pure blood thus generates a hot and humid vapor that sustains the animal spirit.[149] The growing power acts upon the blood, and it becomes flesh. The thick part of it then becomes bones. Then, the body eliminates the (elements of the digested food) it does not need as the various superfluities, such as sweat, saliva, mucus, and tears. This is the process of nourishment, and the transformation of food from potential into actual flesh.

II, 335 Now, illnesses originate from fevers, and most illnesses are fevers. The reason for fevers is that the natural heat is too weak to complete the process of boiling in each of those stages. The nourishment thus is not fully assimilated. The reason for that, as a rule, is either that there is a great amount of food in the stomach that becomes too much for the natural heat, or that food is put into the stomach before the first food

[148] The explanatory gloss, though found in the other texts, appears in C in the margin, and is missing in D.

[149] Cf. 1:74 (n. 5), above.

has been completely boiled. In such a case, the natural heat either devotes itself exclusively to the new food, so that the first food is left in its (half-digested) state, or it divides itself between the old and the new food, and then is insufficient to boil and assimilate them completely. The stomach sends the (food) in that state into the liver, and the heat of the liver likewise is not strong enough to assimilate it. Often, an unassimilated superfluity, resulting from food that had been taken in earlier, has (also) remained in the liver. The liver sends all of it to the veins unassimilated, as it is. When the body has received what it properly needs, it eliminates the (unassimilated superfluity) together with the other superfluities such as sweat, tears, and saliva, if it can. Often, (the body) cannot cope with the greater part of the (unassimilated superfluity). Thus, it remains in the veins, the liver, and the stomach, and increases with time. Any composite humid (substance) that is not boiled and assimilated undergoes putrefaction. Consequently, the unassimilated nourishment — what is called *khilṭ* [150] — becomes putrefied. Anything in the process of putrefaction develops a strange heat. This heat is what, in the human body, is called fever.

This may be exemplified by food that is left over and eventually becomes putrefied, and by dung that has become putrefied. Heat develops in it and takes its course. This is what fevers in the human body mean. Fevers are the main cause and origin of illness, as was mentioned in the (Prophetic) tradition.[151] Such fevers can be cured by not giving an ill person any nourishment for a certain number of weeks; then, he must take the proper nourishment until he is completely cured. In a state of health, the same procedure serves as a preventive treatment for this and other illnesses.[152] II, 336

Putrefaction may be localized in a particular limb. Then, a disease will develop in that limb, or the body will be affected

[150] Lit., "mixture" = chyme.

[151] This is a rather vague reference to the tradition just quoted.

[152] Bulaq: ". . . for this illness and its origin, as is mentioned in the (Prophetic) tradition."

either in the principal limbs or in others, because (that particular) limb is ill and its illness produces an illness of its powers. This covers all illnesses. Their origin as a rule is in the nourishment.

All this is left to (the attention of) the physician.

The incidence of such illnesses is more frequent among the inhabitants of sedentary areas and cities (than elsewhere), because they live a life of plenty. They eat a great deal and rarely restrict themselves to one particular kind of food. They lack caution in taking food, and they prepare their food, when they cook it, with the admixture of a good many things, such as spices, herbs, and fruits, (both) fresh and dry. They do not restrict themselves in this respect to one or even a few kinds. We have on occasion counted forty different kinds of vegetables and meats in a single cooked dish. This gives the nourishment a strange temper and often does not agree with the body and its parts.

Furthermore, the air in cities becomes corrupt through admixture of putrid vapors because of the great number of superfluities (in cities).[153] It is the air that gives energy to the spirit and thus strengthens the influence of the natural heat upon digestion.[154]

Furthermore, the inhabitants of cities lack exercise. As a rule, they rest and remain quiet. Exercise has no part in their
II, 337 (life) and has no influence upon them. Thus, the incidence of illness is great in towns and cities, and the inhabitants' need for medicine is correspondingly great.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the desert, as a rule, eat little. Hunger prevails among them, because they have little grain. (Hunger) eventually becomes a custom of theirs which is often thought to be something natural to them because it is so lasting. Of seasonings they have few or none. The preparation of food boiled with spices and fruits is caused by the luxury of sedentary culture with which they have

[153] Cf. pp. 136 f. and 244 f., above.

[154] Unless we have to read here *al-huḍûm* = *al-haḍm*, it would be *al-haḍûm* in the literal sense of "(food) to be digested."

nothing to do. Thus, they take their nourishment plain and without admixtures, and its temper comes close to being agreeable to the body. Their air has little putrescence, because there is little humidity and putrescence when they stay (anywhere), and the air is changing when they move around. Too, they take exercise, and there is a lot of movement when they race horses, or go hunting, or search for things they need, or occupy themselves with their needs. For all these reasons, their digestion is very good. There is no adding of new food when the old food (has not yet completely been digested). Thus, their temper is healthier and more remote from illness (than that of sedentary people). As a result, their need for medicine is small. Therefore, physicians are nowhere to be found in the desert. The only reason for this is the lack of need for them, because if physicians were needed in the desert they would be there. There would then be a livelihood for them to lead them to settle there.

This is how God proceeds with His servants. "And verily, you will not be able to change God's way." [155]

[29] *Calligraphy, (the art of) writing, is one of the human crafts.* II, 338

(Writing) is the outlining and shaping of letters to indicate audible words which, in turn, indicate what is in the soul. It comes second after oral expression. It is a noble craft, since it is one of the special qualities of man by which he distinguishes himself from the animals. Furthermore, it reveals what is in (people's) minds. It enables the intention (of a person) to be carried to distant places, and, thus, the needs (of that person) may be executed without (him) personally taking care of them.[156] It enables (people) to become acquainted with science, learning, with the books of the ancients, and with the sciences and information written down by them. Because of all these useful aspects, (writing) is a noble (craft).

[155] Qur'ân 33.62 (62); 35.43 (41); 48.23 (23).
[156] Cf. pp. 6 and 356, above.

The [157] transformation of writing in man from potentiality into actuality takes place through instruction. The quality of writing in a town corresponds to the social organization, civilization, and competition for luxuries (among its inhabitants), and the demand for (all) that, since (writing) is a craft. We have stated before [158] that (the crafts) are that way and that they depend on civilization. For this reason, we find that most Bedouins are illiterate. They are not able to read and write. Those of them who do read or write have an inferior handwriting or read haltingly. (On the other hand,) we find that instruction in handwriting in cities with an extraordinarily developed civilization is more proficient, easier, and methodically better (than elsewhere) because the coloring (of the craft of writing) is firmly established in them. Thus, we are told about contemporary Cairo (Egypt) that there are teachers there who are specialized in the teaching of calligraphy.[159] They teach the pupil by norms and laws
II, 339 how to write each letter. In addition, they let him teach (others) how to write each letter. This strengthens his (respect for) the rank of knowledge and (for) perception as [160] far as teaching is concerned. His habit becomes one of the most perfect kind. This comes from the perfection and abundance of crafts (there), the result of large civilization and the great amount of (available) labor.

Writing [161] is not learned that way in Spain and the Maghrib. The letters are not learned individually according to norms the teacher gives to the pupil. Writing is learned by imitating complete words. The pupil repeats (these words), and the teacher examines him, until he knows well (how to write) and until the habit (of writing) is at his finger tips.[162] Then, he is called a good (calligrapher).

Arabic writing had already reached its most developed,

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[157] Cf. Issawi, pp. 145–49.
[158] Cf. pp. 347 ff., above.
[159] Cf. 3:302, below.
[160] *Al-ḥiss*. Cf. p. 386, l. 15, below.
[161] This paragraph is not found in Bulaq. In C it still appears in the margin.
[162] Cf. 3:318, below.

accurate, and excellent stage in the Tubba' dynasty, because (that dynasty) had achieved a great sedentary culture and luxury. The handwriting there was called the Ḥimyarite script. (Writing) was transplanted from (South Arabia) to al-Ḥîrah, because the dynasty of the family of al-Mundhir was there. They were relatives of the Tubba's and shared their group feeling, and they were the founders of Arab rule in the 'Irâq. Their writing was not as good as that of the Tubba's, because (the time) between the two dynasties was short [163] and, (therefore,) sedentary culture and the crafts and other things depending on it were not developed enough for (calligraphy). From al-Ḥîrah, the inhabitants of aṭ-Ṭâ'if and the Quraysh learned (writing), as has been said. The person who learned the art of writing from al-Ḥîrah is said to have been Sufyân b. Umayyah, or Ḥarb b. Umayyah. He learned it from Aslam b. Sidrah.[164] This is a possible theory. It is a more likely theory than that of those who say that they learned it from the Iyâd, the inhabitants of the 'Irâq, because of the verse of an [Iyâdî] poet:

> People to whom belongs the area of the 'Irâq when
> They travel together, as well as writing and pen.

This is an unlikely theory. Even though the Iyâd settled in the area of the 'Irâq, they maintained their desert attitude, and handwriting is a sedentary craft. The meaning of the (verse of that) poet is that the Iyâd were closer to handwriting and the pen than other Arabs, because they were closer to an urban environment. The theory that the inhabitants of the Ḥijâz learned (writing) from the inhabitants of al-Ḥîrah, who, in turn, had learned it from the Tubba's and the Ḥimyar, is the most plausible one. II, 340

[163] The Arabic words can hardly mean (as de Slane suggested) that there was a great difference between the two dynasties. Ibn Khaldûn probably was thinking of the supposedly brief duration of the Lakhmid dynasty in al-Ḥîrah.

[164] Cf. Ibn an-Nadîm, *Fihrist*, p. 4 (ed. Flügel); p. 7 (Cairo, 1348/1929–30); aṣ-Ṣûlî, *Adab al-kuttâb* (Cairo, 1341/1922), p. 30; Ibn Khallikân, *Wafayât*, tr. de Slane, II, 284, quoted by Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah*, XII, 14 f.

Sufyân, a brother of Ḥarb, is not usually mentioned in this connection.

In [165] the biography of one of Mâlik's companions, Ibn Farrûkh—'Abdallâh b. Farrûkh—al-Qayrawânî al-Fârisî al-Andalusî,[166] in the *Kitâb at-Takmilah* of Ibn al-Abbâr, I have seen the following remark, reported by Ibn Farrûkh on the authority of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. Ziyâd b. An'um,[167] on the authority of his father, who said: "I said to 'Abdallâh b. 'Abbâs: 'You Qurashites, tell me about the Arabic script. Did you use it in the same way, before God sent Muḥammad, with its connected and unconnected letters, such as *', l, m, n?*' (Ibn 'Abbâs) replied: 'Yes.' I continued: 'From whom did you learn it?' He replied: 'From Ḥarb b. Umayyah.' I asked: 'From whom did Ḥarb learn it?' He replied: 'From 'Abdallâh b. Jud'ân.' I asked: 'From whom did 'Abdallâh b. Jud'ân learn it?' He replied: 'From the inhabitants of al-Anbâr.' I asked: 'From whom did they learn it?' He replied: 'From a Yemenite newcomer among them.' I asked: 'From whom did he learn it?' He replied: 'From al-Khullajân [168] b. al-Qâsim, who wrote down the revelation of the prophet Hûd. He used to say:

II, *341*

Do you invent a new procedure every year,
Or an opinion that is to be explained in a different way?
Indeed, death is better than a life in which among those who abuse us,
There are the Jurhum and the Ḥimyar.' "

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[165] The quotation from Ibn al-Abbâr is added in the margin of C, and appears in the text of D.

[166] Ibn Farrûkh was born in 115 [733/34] and died in 175 [791/92] or 176 [792/93]. Cf. Ibn al-Abbâr, *Takmilah*, ed. F. Codera (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, No. 6) (Madrid, 1889), II, 431–33; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 356 f.

[167] He was born in 74 or 75 [693–95], or not long before that, and died between 156 and 161 [772–78]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VI, 173 ff. For his father, cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, II 1, 315; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, III, 354.

[168] The name occurs in the legend of Hûd, as reported in aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, I, 241 f.; al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-dhahab*, III, 295; and in ath-Tha'labî, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyâ'*, but not as that of Hûd's scribe. The second verse is quoted in a somewhat different form in al-Hamdânî, *Iklîl*, ed. O. Löfgren (Bibliotheca Ekmaniana, No. 58:1) (Uppsala, 1954), p. 43. * For the first verse, cf. al-Mas'ûdî, *Tanbîh* (Cairo, 1938), p. 72.

End of the quotation from the *Kitâb at-Takmilah* of Ibn al-Abbâr.

At the end of the passage, Ibn al-Abbâr added: [169] "I was told this by Abû Bakr b. Abî Jamrah, in his book, on the authority of Abû Baḥr b. al-'Âṣî,[170] on the authority of Abû l-Walîd al-Waqqashî,[171] on the authority of Abû 'Umar aṭ-Ṭalamankî,[172] on the authority of Abû 'Abdallâh b. Mufarrij,[173] who was my written source, on the authority of Abû Sa'îd b. Yûnus,[174] on the authority of Muḥammad b. Mûsâ b. an-Nu'mân, on the authority of Yaḥyâ b. Muḥammad b. Khushaysh, on the authority of 'Uthmân b. Ayyûb al-Ma'âfirî at-Tûnisî, on the authority of Buhlûl b. 'Ubaydah at-Tujîbî, on the authority of 'Abdallâh b. Farrûkh."

The Ḥimyarites had a script called *musnad*.[175] The letters were written separately. It could be studied only with their permission. The Muḍar learned the Arabic script from the Ḥimyar. However, they did not write it well, as is the case with crafts practiced in the desert. The crafts there have no firmly established methods and show no inclination toward accuracy and elegance. There is a wide gap between the desert attitude and craftsmanship, and Bedouins can for the most part dispense with crafts. Thus, the writing of the Arabs

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[169] As a matter of fact, in the *Takmilah* the transmitters down to Ibn Yûnus are mentioned after the story, and those from Ibn Yûnus down to Ibn Farrûkh are mentioned before it.

[170] Sufyân b. al-'Âṣî, 440–520 [1048/49–1126]. Cf. Ibn Bashkuwâl, *Ṣilah*, ed. F. Codera (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, No. 2) (Madrid, 1883), pp. 229 f.

[171] Hishâm b. Aḥmad, d. 489 [1096]. Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule Ibérique* (Leiden, 1938), pp. 237 f. (tr.).

[172] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 340–429 [951/52–1038]. Cf. Ibn Bashkuwâl, *Ṣilah*, pp. 47 ff.

[173] The historian Abû Bakr b. Mufarrij (or Mufarraj?) al-Qubbashî studied with him. Cf. Ibn Bashkuwâl, *Ṣilah*, p. 137. However, I have been unable to identify the above person with any known bearer of this not uncommon name.

[174] The well-known historian 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân b. Aḥmad b. Yûnus, 281–347 [894/95–958]. Cf. Ibn Kathîr, *Bidâyah*, XI, 233. The reference to him is an addition in C and is not found in D.

[175] Cf. 3:282, below.

was a Bedouin (script), exactly like, or similar to, the writing the Arab (Bedouins) use at this time. Or, we might say that the writing the Arab (Bedouins) use at this time shows a better technique, because (the Arab Bedouins today) are closer to sedentary culture and have more contact with cities and dynasties (than the Muḍar of old). The Muḍar were more firmly rooted in desert life and more remote from sedentary areas than the inhabitants of the Yemen, the 'Irâq, Syria,
II, 342 and Egypt. Arabic writing at the beginning of Islam was, therefore, not of the best quality nor of the greatest accuracy and excellence. It was not (even) of medium quality, because the Arabs possessed the savage desert attitude and were not familiar with crafts.

One may compare what happened to the orthography of the Qur'ân on account of this situation. The men around Muḥammad wrote the Qur'ân in their own script, which was not of a firmly established, good quality. Most of the letters were in contradiction to the orthography required by persons versed in the craft of writing. The Qur'ânic script of (the men around Muḥammad) was then imitated by the men of the second generation, because of the blessing inherent in the use of an orthography that had been used by the men around Muḥammad, who were the best human beings after (Muḥammad himself) and who had received his revelation from the book and word of God. At the present time, people similarly imitate the handwriting of saints or scholars because of the blessing (inherent in that), and they follow the orthography whether it be wrong or right. One could hardly compare these men to the men around Muḥammad or the things they write down to (the divine revelation) they wrote down! Consequently, (the Qur'ânic orthography of the men around Muḥammad) was followed and became established, and the scholars acquainted with it have called attention to passages where (this is noticeable).

No attention should be paid in this connection to the assumption of certain incompetent (scholars) that (the men around Muḥammad) knew well the art of writing and that the

alleged discrepancies between their writing and the principles of orthography are not discrepancies, as has been alleged, but have a reason. For instance, they explain the addition of the *alif* in *la-'adhbaḥannahû* "I shall indeed slaughter him" as an indication that the slaughtering did *not* take place (*lâ-adhbaḥannahû*). The addition of the *yâ'* in *bi-ayydin* "with hands (power)," they explain as an indication that the divine power is perfect.[176] There are similar things based on nothing but purely arbitrary assumptions. The only reason that caused them to (assume such things) is their belief that (their explanations) would free the men around Muḥammad from the suspicion of deficiency, in the sense that they were not able to write well. They think that good writing is perfec- II, 343
tion. Thus, they do not admit the fact that the men around Muḥammad were deficient in (writing). They (want to) consider them as perfect by ascribing good writing to them, and they seek to explain (orthographic peculiarities) that are contrary to good orthographic usage. This is not correct. It should be known that as far as (the men around Muḥammad) are concerned, writing has nothing to do with perfection. Writing is an urban craft that serves to make a living, as has been shown above.[177] Perfection in a craft is something relative. It is not absolute perfection. A deficiency from (perfection in the crafts) does not essentially affect one's religion or personal qualities. It merely affects things that have to do with making a living, and (does so) in accordance with the (existing) civilization and co-operation for (civilization), since writing indicates what is in the souls. The Prophet was illiterate. That was perfection so far as he was concerned and it was in keeping with his station, because he was noble and

[176] The passages quoted are from Qur'ân 27.21 (21) and 51.47 (47), respectively. Cf. also p. 442, below. For the explanation given in connection with the second passage, cf. as-Suyûṭî, *Itqân* (Cairo, 1317/1899), II, 168. As-Suyûṭî's source is Abû l-'Abbâs al-Marrâkushî (Ibn al-Bannâ'), *'Unwân ad-dalîl fî marsûm khaṭṭ at-tanzîl*. Cf. n. 363 to Ch. 1, above. This older work dealt with interpretation of orthographic peculiarities in the Qur'ân. Works such as this were certainly the textbooks on the subject used in the environment in which Ibn Khaldûn grew up.

[177] Cf. pp. 348 and 356, above.

had nothing to do with the practical crafts, all of which are matters connected with making a living and with civilization. (On the other hand,) as far as we are concerned, illiteracy is not a perfection. (Muḥammad) was exclusively devoted to his Lord. We, however, must co-operate in order to make life in this world possible for us. The same applies to all the crafts, including even the theoretical [178] sciences. As far as (Muḥammad) is concerned, perfection means that he has nothing to do with any of them. The opposite is the case with us.

Later, royal authority came to the Arabs. They conquered cities and took possession of provinces. They settled in al-Baṣrah and al-Kûfah, and the dynasty needed the art of writing. At that time, they (began) writing.[179] They sought to practice and study it, and it came into common use. As a result, a high degree of excellence in (writing) was achieved. (Writing) became firmly established. In al-Kûfah and al-Baṣrah, it reached a great degree of accuracy, but did not reach the limit (of perfection). The Kufic script is still known at this time.

The Arabs then spread over all the regions and provinces and conquered Ifrîqiyah and Spain. The 'Abbâsids founded
II, 344 Baghdad. There, the different kinds of writing reached the limit (of perfection), because civilization was highly developed in (Baghdad), since it had become the home of Islam and the center of the Arab dynasty.

The [180] norms of writing used in Baghdad were different from those in al-Kûfah, in that they inclined toward well-shaped letters, brilliancy, and splendor. This difference became established (and lasted) for a long time. The wazir

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[178] Lit., "the sciences that have their conventional technical terminologies." B reads *al-iṣlâḥîyah.*

[179] *Al-kitâb,* rather than *al-kuttâb* "secretaries." Bulaq has the simpler *al-kitâbah.*

[180] This paragraph is not in Bulaq, A, or E, which have: "The Baghdâdî script had a well-known form. It was followed by the Ifrîqî script. . . ." C originally had the same, but replaced it by the fuller text added in the margin.

(Abû) 'Alî b. Muqlah [181] became its protagonist in Baghdad. He was followed in this respect by the secretary, 'Alî b. Hilâl, who is known as Ibn al-Bawwâb.[182] The tradition of instruction in the Baghdâdî and Kûfî writing ended with him in the fourth [tenth] century [183] and afterwards. The forms and the norms of the Baghdâdî script then departed still further from Kufic, and eventually, there was a complete break. Later on, the differences were accentuated by masters who always tried to find new forms and improved norms of writing, up to the time of such later calligraphers as Yâqût al-Musta'ṣimî [184] and al-Walî 'Alî al-'Ajamî.[185] The tradition of the teaching of writing stopped with them. This (type of calligraphy) was transferred to Egypt where (the script) was somewhat different from the 'Irâqî script. The non-Arabs learned the ('Irâqî script) there (in the 'Irâq). It turned out to be different or completely distinct from the writing of the Egyptians.

The Ifrîqî script, the old form of which is (still) known at this time, was close to the forms of the eastern script. Spain became the domain of the Umayyads. Their situation as to sedentary culture, the crafts, and the various scripts was a special one. As a result, the Spanish script, as it is known at the present time, became special, (too).

Civilization and sedentary culture developed greatly everywhere in the (various) Muslim dynasties. Royal authority increased, and the sciences were cultivated. Books were copied, and they were well written and bound. Castles and royal libraries were filled with them in an incomparable II, *345*

[181] Muḥammad b. 'Alî, 272–328 [886–940]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 433 f.; M. Torki, "Un Texte inédit attribué à Ibn Moqla," in *Actes du XVIII^e Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Leiden, 1932), pp. 243 f. The reference to Ibn Muqlah is a secondary addition in C and is found in D, but it is missing in B.

[182] Cf. p. 388, below.

[183] Ibn Khaldûn uses here the expression "third century" in the sense of "the three hundreds," i.e., the fourth century.

[184] He died in 698 [1298/99], or possibly some years later. Cf. *GAL*, I, 353; *Suppl.*, I, 598; F. Krenkow in *Islamic Culture*, XXII (1948), 86 f.

[185] He is Abû l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. Zengi, known as al-Walî al-'Ajamî. Cf. Murtaḍâ az-Zabîdî, *Ḥikmat al-ishrâq ilâ kuttâb al-âfâq* (*Nawâdir al-makhṭûṭât*, No. 5) (Cairo, 1373/1954), pp. 86, 88.

way. The inhabitants of the different regions vied with and rivaled each other in this respect.

Then, the Muslim empire became disorganized and shrank. With its shrinking, all these things shrank, too. With the disappearance of the caliphate, Baghdad lost its outstanding position. The position it had held with regard to calligraphy and (the art of) writing, and, indeed, with regard to scholarship (in general) was taken over by Egypt and Cairo. The art of writing continues to be cultivated there at this time. There are teachers of writing there who are employed (just) to teach the letters. For that, they have norms of how the letters are to be drawn and shaped. These norms are generally recognized among them. The student soon learns to draw and form the letters well, as he learns them by sensual perception,[186] becomes skilled in them through practice in writing them, and learns them in the form of scientific norms. Therefore, his letters turn out to be as well formed as possible.

The inhabitants of Spain, on the other hand, were dispersed throughout the (various) regions when the rule of the Arabs in Spain and that of the Berbers who succeeded (the Arabs), were annihilated and the Christian nations gained the upper hand. From (the time of) the Lamtûnah (Almoravid) dynasty down to this time, they have spread all over the coast of the Maghrib and Ifrîqiyah. They permitted the people settled (there) to share in the crafts they possessed, and they attached themselves to the ruling dynasty (in Northwest Africa). In this way, their script replaced the Ifrîqî script and wiped it out. The scripts of al-Qayrawân and al-Mahdîyah were forgotten, once the customs and crafts of (the two cities) were forgotten. All the various scripts of the inhabitants of Ifrîqiyah were assimilated to the Spanish script used in Tunis and adjacent regions, because there were so many Spaniards there after the exodus from eastern Spain.[187] The (old script) has been preserved in the Jarîd, where people had no contact

[186] Cf. p. 378 (n. 160), above.
[187] Cf. 1:xxxv f., above.

with those who wrote the Spanish script and were not in close touch with them, because (the Spaniards who came to Northwest Africa) used to proceed [188] to the capital city of Tunis. II, 346
The script of the inhabitants of Ifrîqiyah thus became a representative [189] of the Spanish type of writing. Eventually, the shadow of the Almohad dynasty receded somewhat, and sedentary culture and luxury retrogressed with the retrogression of civilization. At that time, writing also suffered a setback, and its forms deteriorated. The method of teaching writing was no longer known, in consequence of the (general) corruption of sedentary culture and the decrease in civilization. Traces of the Spanish script remain there. They attest to the (perfection in it) which the people had formerly possessed. The existence of such traces is explained by the fact that, as we have mentioned before,[190] it is difficult to wipe out the crafts once they are firmly established in a sedentary culture.

In the later Merinid dynasty in Morocco, a kind of Spanish script established itself, because (the Spaniards) were close neighbors and the (Spaniards) who left (Spain) soon settled in Fez, and the Merinids employed them during all the days of their rule. (But) in regions far from the seat and capital of the realm, writing was not cared for, and it was forgotten as if it had never been known. The (various) types of script used in Ifrîqiyah and the two Maghribs inclined to be ugly and far from excellent. When books were copied, it was useless to look at them critically. (Study of them) merely caused pain and trouble, because the texts were very corrupt and full of clerical errors, and the letters were no longer well formed. Thus, they could be read only with some difficulty. In this way, writing was affected like all the other crafts by the decrease of sedentary culture and the corruption of the (ruling) dynasties.

"God decides and no one can change His decision." [191]

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[188] *Yafidûna*, as clearly written in B and C.
[189] Bulaq: "the best representative."
[190] Cf. pp. 349 ff., above.
[191] Qur'ân 13.41 (41).

Professor[192] Abû l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. Hilâl al-Kâtib al-Baghdâdî, who is known as Ibn al-Bawwâb,[193] wrote a poem
II, 347 in the *basîṭ* meter[194] with the rhyme on *r*, in which he mentions the craft of writing and the matters with which it has to do. The poem belongs among the best things ever written on (the subject). I considered it proper to insert it in this chapter, so that those who want to learn the craft of (writing) may profit from it. It begins:

O you who want to write a calligraphic hand
And desire to write and draw (the letters) well:
If you are truly desirous of mastering the art of writing,
Pray that your Master make it easy (for you)!
Prepare a calamus that is straight
And strong, capable of fashioning elegant writing with craft.
If you propose to nib the calamus, aim
At applying to it the greatest symmetry.
Look at both ends of it, and then nib it
At the end where it is thin and narrow.
Give the part of the calamus that is nibbed a moderate size,
Neither too long nor too short,
And make the split precisely in the middle of the calamus so that the space nibbed
On both sides of it will be exactly equal.
Eventually, when you have done all this as carefully
As the careful craftsman who knows what is wanted,
Then, turn all your attention toward cutting the point,
For cutting the point is the crux of the procedure.
Do not beg me to reveal its secret.
I am chary of its secret, a thing concealed.
But the sum total of what I want to say is that

[192] The remainder of the section is a later addition, found in C on an inserted sheet and incorporated in the text of D.

[193] He died in 413 [1022]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 434.

[194] However, the meter is *kâmil*.

The (point) should be something between oblique and round.
Stir the (ink in the) inkstand with soot that is treated
With vinegar or verjuice.
Add to it red pigment that has been diluted
With orpiment and camphor.
Eventually, when (the ink) has fermented,
Go to the clean, pleasant, tested paper.
After cutting it, press it with a press, so as
To remove all trace of crumpling and soiling.[195]
Then, make patient imitation your habit.
Only a patient person achieves what he desires.
Begin by writing on a wooden slate, wearing it out [196]
With a resolution kept free from haste.
Do not be ashamed of your bad writing
When you begin to imitate (the letters) and draw lines.
The matter is difficult (at the beginning), and then becomes easy.
Many a thing that is difficult (at the beginning) turns out later on to be easy.
Eventually, when you have achieved what you have hoped for,
You will be filled with [197] joy and gladness.
Then, thank your God and do His pleasure!
God loves all those who are grateful.
Furthermore, pray that the fingers of your hand will write
Only what is good for you to leave behind in the house of deception.[198]
Everything a man does, he will be confronted with on the morrow,
When he is confronted with the written decree (on the Day.of Resurrection).

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[195] C and D: *wa-t-taghbîr* "being soiled with dust."
[196] Hardly: "unsheathing for it a resolution . . ."
[197] Lit., "you will become the possessor (*rabb*) of."
[198] That is, this world.

II, *348* It should be known that writing shows the things that are spoken, just as the things that are spoken show the ideas that are in the soul and the mind. Both writing and speech must express clearly (what they want to express). God said: "He created man, taught him clarity." [199] This includes clarity in all the things one expresses.

The perfection of good handwriting consists in the fact that it is clear. (This is achieved) by indicating clearly the conventional [200] letters of (the script), arranging and drawing them well. Each letter by itself is distinct from the others, except where connection between the letters within a word is an accepted technicality. This does not apply to letters that have been accepted as letters that should remain unconnected, such as ' when it precedes (another letter) in the word, nor to *r*, *z*, *d*, *dh*, and others. It is different when (these letters) follow (another letter in a word). It is this way with all (letters).

Later scribes then agreed to connect words with each other and omit letters [201] that were known to them but not to others who did not know the code, which, thus, remained unclear to others. These (scribes) are the officials who write government documents and keep court records. It seems that they use such a special code, from which others are excluded, because they have to write a great deal, and they are famous for their writing, and many people connected with them [202] know their code. When they write to others who do not know their code, they cannot use it and have to try to write as clearly as possible. Otherwise, their writing would be like non-Arabic writing. It would be in the same category with it in as much as both (types of writing, the code and non-Arabic writing) are not (generally) agreed upon (by conventional usage). There is no (real) excuse for (writing in code), except in the case of officials of the government's tax

[199] Qur'ân 55.3–4 (2–3).

[200] Instead of *mutawâḍi'* one would expect *mutawâḍa' 'alay(hâ)*, in the meaning required.

[201] I.e., abbreviations, both of individual words and groups of words.

[202] *Dhawîhim,* as in C and D.

and army (bureaus). They are required to conceal (their affairs) from the people, since (these affairs) are government secrets that have to be kept secret. Therefore, they use a very special code among themselves, which is like a puzzle. It makes use of the names of perfumes, fruits, birds, or flowers to indicate the letters, or it makes use of forms different from the accepted forms of the letters. Such a code is agreed upon by the correspondents between themselves, in order to be able to convey their thoughts in writing. Occasionally, skillful secretaries, though not the first to invent a certain code (and with no previous knowledge of it), nonetheless find rules (for deciphering it) through combinations which they evolve for the purpose with the help of their intelligence,[203] and which they call "solving the puzzle (decoding)." Well-known writings on the subject are in the possession of the people. II, 349

God is knowing and wise.

[30] *The craft of book production.*

Formerly, (people) were concerned with scholarly writings and (official) records. These were copied, bound, and corrected with the help of a transmission technique [204] and with accuracy. The reason for this was the importance of the (ruling) dynasty and the existence of the things that depend on sedentary culture. All that has disappeared at the present time as the result of the disappearance of the dynasties and the decrease of civilization. In Islam it had formerly reached tremendous proportions in the 'Irâq and in Spain. All of it depends on civilization, on the extent of the (ruling) dynasties, and on the demand existing in (the dynasties) [205] for it. Thus, scholarly works and writings were (formerly) numerous. People were desirous of transmitting them everywhere and at any time. They were copied and bound. The craft of book producers, thus, made its appearance. (They are

[203] Lit., their means of perception.
[204] As described on the following pages.
[205] The earlier text had *ladayhimâ* "in (civilization and the dynasties)."

II, 350 the craftsmen) concerned with copying, correcting, and binding books, and with all the other matters pertaining to books and writings. The craft of book production was restricted to cities of a large civilization.

Originally, copies of scholarly works, government correspondence, letters of enfeoffment, and diplomas [206] were written on parchment especially prepared from animal skins by craftsmen, because there was great prosperity at the beginning of Islam and the works that were written were few, as we shall mention.[207] In addition, government documents and diplomas were few in number. Therefore, (the early Muslims) restricted themselves to writing on parchment. This was an expression of respect for what was to be written down, and of desire that it should be correct and accurate. The production of books and writings then developed greatly. Government documents and diplomas increased in number. There was not enough parchment for all that. Therefore, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyâ [208] suggested the manufacture of paper. Thus, paper was used for government documents and diplomas. Afterwards, people used paper in sheets for government and scholarly writings, and the manufacture of (paper) reached a considerable degree of excellence.

The concern of scholars and the interest of government people then concentrated on accuracy in scholarly writings and the establishment of their correctness with the help of a chain of transmitters leading back to their writers and authors, because that is the most important element in establishing a correct and accurate (text). Statements are thus led back to those who made them, and decisions (in legal questions, *fatwâ*) are led back to the persons who decided in ac-

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[206] *Ṣakk*. Cf. p. 4 (n. 439), above.

[207] This seems to be a general reference to the historical surveys of the individual sciences that follow. Cf. also 3:115, below.

[208] Paper came into use more widely at the time of the Barmecides, in the early ninth century. However, ascribing the official introduction of paper into government offices to the Barmecides may be part of the legend woven around them. Cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 440, and, more recently, N. Abbott in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VIII (1949), 147.

cordance with them and were able to pronounce them by means of independent judgment. Wherever the correctness of a text is not established by a chain of transmitters going back to the person who wrote that particular text, the statement or decision in question cannot properly be ascribed to its (alleged author). This has been the procedure of scholars and experts in (all matters of religious knowledge) in all times, races, and regions, so much so that the usefulness of the craft connected with the transmission of traditions came to be restricted to this aspect (of the process of transmission). The main fruit of (the craft concerned with the transmission of traditions) is the knowledge of which traditions are "sound," II, *351* which are "good," which "go back in an uninterrupted chain of transmitters to the Prophet" (*musnad*), which have a chain of transmitters that "skips the first transmitter on the authority of Muḥammad" (*mursal*), which have a chain that "stops with one of the men of the second generation" (*maqṭû'*), and which have a chain that "stops with one of the men around Muḥammad" (*mawqûf*), in order to be able to distinguish (such traditions) from spurious ones.[209] This is no longer (a subject of investigation). The cream of it has been churned in the principal collections (of traditions) that have found general acceptance by all Muslims. It would, thus, be a superfluous activity to attempt (to investigate the matter anew). Therefore, the only remaining result to be gained from the process of transmission and occupation with it is that it can serve to establish a correct text of the principal collections of traditions and other books on jurisprudence used for legal decisions,[210] as well as for other writings and scholarly works. (It also serves) to establish uninterrupted connection with their respective authors, so that transmission on their authority or ascription to them is sound. Both in the East and in Spain, this method has been the tried and true path. We find that the copies made in (former) times in those regions are the most exact, well done, and correct. People

[209] Cf. also pp. 449 f., below.
[210] Cf. Bombaci, p. 452.

everywhere at this time possess old copies attesting to the perfection previously reached in this respect. The inhabitants of the various regions have handed them down (and preserved) them to the present, and they do not like to part with them.

At the present time, this method has altogether disappeared in the Maghrib and among Maghribîs, because the craft of writing, accuracy, and the transmission technique were cut off there as the result of the destruction of the civilization of (the Maghrib) and its basic [211] desert attitude. The principal collections and writings were copied in Bedouin script. They were copied by Berber students in such a bad handwriting and with so much corruption and so many clerical errors that they cannot be understood. They remain incomprehensible to those who examine them critically. Only very rarely are they of any use.

Furthermore, this (situation) has caused disintegration in the field of legal decisions (*fatwâ*). Most statements ascribed to the school authorities are not (orally) transmitted
II, 352 but are taken from the writings as they are found there. This has also affected the attempts of some religious leaders to write books. They know little of the technical side of (authorship) and lack the crafts necessary for realizing the purposes of (authorship). Some slight remnant of this institution has remained in Spain. It is about to disappear. (Religious) scholarship has almost completely stopped in the Maghrib.

"God has the power to execute His commands." [212]

We now hear that the craft of transmission (technique) still exists in the East. The sciences and crafts are in demand there, as we shall mention later on,[213] and, therefore, those who want to, find it easy to establish the correct text of writings. However, the script for good copying surviving there is that of the non-Arabs, and found in their manuscripts.

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[211] *Aṣlihî* seems to be the reading of B and D; C is indistinct. Bulaq, A, and Paris read *ahlihî* "and the desert attitude of its inhabitants."

[212] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).

[213] Cf. p. 431, below.

The copying (of books) has deteriorated in Egypt as it has in the Maghrib, and even more so.

"God has the power to execute His commands."

[31] *The craft of singing (and music).*

This craft is concerned with the setting of poems to music.[214] (This is done) by scanning the sounds according to well-known fixed proportions, which causes any sound (complex) thus scanned to constitute a tune, a rhythmic mode. These modes are then combined with each other according to accepted proportions. The result is pleasant to listen to because of its harmony and the quality (that harmony) gives to the sounds. This is as follows: As explained in the science of music, sounds are in certain proportions (intervals) to each other. A sound may be one-half, one-quarter, one-fifth, or one-eleventh of another sound. The difference in interval between the sounds that reach the ear transforms them from simple (sounds) to combinations of (sounds). Not every combination is pleasant to listen to. There are special combinations (that are pleasant). They have been enumerated and discussed by musicologists, as is mentioned in the proper place. II, 353

The music produced by the rhythmic modes of singing may be supplemented by scanning other sounds that come from solids and are produced by either beating or blowing into instruments used for the purpose. Such (instrumental music) adds to the pleasure of listening. Various kinds of instruments are used in the contemporary Maghrib. There is the wood-wind instrument called *shabbâbah*.[215] It is a hollow reed with a number of holes on the sides. One blows into it, and it gives a sound. The sound escapes from the hollow of

[214] Cf. 3:341, below.

[215] Of the instruments mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn, the *shabbâbah* is the only one to occur in a list of musical instruments that appears in a Western work on music written, it seems, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cf. H. G. Farmer in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1935), pp. 339–53. Cf. also *GAL*, *Suppl.*, III, 1279, and J. Robson in *Islamic Culture*, XXVI (1952), 113–31. For illustrations of some of the musical instruments mentioned here, cf. also Farmer, *The Minstrelsy of "The Arabian Nights"* (Bearsden [Scot.], 1945).

(the reed) straight [216] through these holes. It is scanned by placing the fingers of both hands upon these holes in conventionally accepted ways. This creates the proper intervals between the sounds and also combines them harmoniously. As a result, they are pleasant to listen to when one hears them, because of the harmony we have mentioned.

Another similar kind of instrument is the wood-wind instrument called *zulâmî*.[217] It has the form of a reed, with two wooden parts carved (hollow), hollow but not round, because it is made of two pieces put together. It also has a number of holes. One blows into it through a small connected reed which directs the wind to (the holes). This produces a high-pitched tone. The fingers are placed upon (the holes) and the sounds are thus scanned in the same way as on the *shabbâbah*.

One of the best wind instruments at this time is the *bûq*.[218] This is a trumpet of copper (brass) which is hollow, one
II, 354 cubit long, widening toward the opening, the diameter of which is less than [219] the palm of a hand in width. It has the form of a nibbed calamus. One blows into it through a small reed which conveys the wind from the mouth into it. The sound comes out compact and loud. It also has a number of holes, and (makes) a harmonious tune of pleasant effect, which is produced in the same way (as in the afore-mentioned instruments), by placing the fingers (on the holes).

Then, there are the string instruments. They are all hollow. They may have either the shape of a section of a sphere, as, for instance, the barbiton and the rebec, or a square shape, such as the *qânûn*.[220] The strings are placed upon the surface

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[216] *'Alâ sadâdihî* "straight" is apparently intended to indicate that there is no special mouthpiece, as in the case of the trumpet. Or should we read *'alâ sadâdatin* "through the obstruction of"?

[217] Cf. H. G. Farmer in *EI*, *s.v.* "Mizmâr." Farmer writes *zullâmî*, possibly on the basis of the vocalization given in one or another manuscript.

[218] Cf. H. G. Farmer in *EI*, *Supplement*, *s.v.* "Bûḳ."

[219] The MSS are not very distinct in their readings, but they seem to have *dûna*. *Dawr* would be difficult; possibly "turn" or "circle of a hand"?

[220] For the three instruments, cf. H. G. Farmer in *EI*, *s.v.* "'Ûd," "Rabâb," and "Mi'zaf."

of (the instrument). They are tied at the head to pegs that can be turned, so that it is possible to (tighten or) loosen (the strings) as required, by turning them. The strings are either plucked with another piece of wood or (played) with a string fastened between the two ends of a bow that passes over (the strings of the instrument) after it had been waxed with wax or mastic (*kundur*). Sounds are scanned through lightening (the pressure of) the hand that guides (the bow) over the strings, or through transferring (the bow) from one string to another. Moreover, in all string instruments, the fingers of the left hand can be used to beat or pluck the ends of the strings. Thus, there originate harmonious, pleasant sounds. Moreover, brass kettles may be beaten with sticks, or pieces of wood may be beaten against each other in a harmonious rhythm. This creates a feeling of pleasure as the result of the music one hears.

Let us explain the reason for the pleasure resulting from music. This is as follows: As has been established in the proper place, pleasure is the attainment of something that is agreeable. (Such a thing,) in sensual perception, can only be a quality. If (such a quality) is proportionate and agreeable to the person who has the perception, it is pleasant. If it is repugnant to him or discordant, it is painful. Agreeable foods are those whose quality corresponds to the temper of the II, *355* sense of taste. The same applies to agreeable sensations of touch. Agreeable smells are those that correspond to the temper of the vaporous cordial spirit, because that spirit is what perceives and receives them through the (medium of the) sense (of smell). Thus, aromatic plants and flowers smell better and are more agreeable to the spirit, because heat, which is the temper of the cordial spirit, is preponderant in them. Agreeable sensations of vision and hearing are caused by harmonious arrangement in the forms and qualities of (the things seen or heard). This impresses the soul as harmonious and is more agreeable to it.

If an object of vision is harmonious in the forms and lines given to it in accordance with the matter from which it is

made, so that the requirements of its particular matter as to perfect harmony and arrangement are not disregarded—that being the meaning of beauty and loveliness whenever these terms are used for any object of sensual perception—that (object of vision) is then in harmony with the soul that perceives (it), and the soul, thus, feels pleasure as the result of perceiving something that is agreeable to it. Therefore, lovers who are most deeply in love express their extreme infatuation by saying that their spirit is commingled with that of the beloved.[221] In another sense, the meaning of it is that existence is shared by all existent things, as the philosophers say. Therefore, (existent things) love to commingle with something in which they observe perfection, in order to become one with it.

The object that is most suited to man and in which he is most likely to perceive perfect harmony, is the human form. Therefore, it is most congenial to him to perceive beauty and loveliness in the lines and sounds of the human form. Thus,
II, *356* every man desires beauty in the objects of vision and hearing, as a requirement of his nature. Beauty in the objects of hearing is harmony and lack of discordance in the sounds.

This is as follows: Sounds have certain qualities. They may be whispered or loud, soft or strong, vibrant or constrained, and so on. Harmony between them is what gives them beauty. Firstly, the transition from one sound to a

[221] Bulaq adds here: "This has a secret (meaning) which those attuned to it will understand. It indicates original oneness. If you look at anything outside of yourself and contemplate it, you notice that between yourself and that (other thing), there exists a oneness in origin that attests to the oneness of (yourself and that other thing) in coming into existence."

At the end of the paragraph, Bulaq adds: "Indeed, in this situation the soul desires to quit (the realm of) the imagination for reality, which is oneness of origin and coming into existence."

These additions advocate a monism that apparently later seemed objectionable to Ibn Khaldûn. The thought left in the text is obviously much more moderate. The outstanding representative of this kind of monistic mysticism was Ibn 'Arabî, whose teachings were both widely adopted and bitterly opposed in Ibn Khaldûn's day. One of the latter's pupils, Shams-ad-dîn al-Bisâṭî, d. 842 [1439], was a fervent admirer of Ibn 'Arabî, as we know from as-Suyûṭî's *Ṭanbî'at al-ghabî bi-tabri'at Ibn al-'Arabî*. Ibn Khaldûn himself refers to Ibn 'Arabî and his school in his chapter on Sufism.

contrary or identical sound as well as the return to the first sound, is not made suddenly but gradually. There must be something to bridge the gap between the two sounds. This may be compared with the fact that linguists consider clusters of sounds of discordant or similar articulation ugly. This belongs to the same category. Secondly, the sounds must have harmonious intervals, as was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. The transition from a sound to a sound one-half, one-third, or some other fraction of it, must take place in a harmonious manner according to the rules established by musicologists. When the sounds are harmonious with regard to their qualities, as has been mentioned by musicologists, they are agreeable and pleasant.

Such harmony may be a simple one. Many people are gifted to achieve it by nature. They do not need any (special) instruction or (craft) for it, for we find people who are gifted by nature for the meters of poetry, the rhythms of the dance, and similar things. The common people call such an aptitude "musicalness" (*miḍmâr*).[222] Many Qur'ân readers belong in this category. In reciting the Qur'ân, they know well how to modulate their voices, as if they were flutes. They thus cause emotion through the beauty of their performance [223] and the harmony of their modes.

Harmony may also result from composition. Not all human beings are alike in their knowledge of it, nor are II, *357* they all equally able by nature to practice it, if they know it. This is the melodious music with which the science of music has to deal, as we shall explain later on among the sciences.[224]

Mâlik disapproved of the use of melodies in reciting the Qur'ân,[225] and ash-Shâfi'î permitted it. Here it is not a question of artistic musical melodies. There can be no dif-

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[222] Lit., "racecourse." For the history of the word, cf. J. Robson and H. G. Farmer, *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments as Described by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (9th Century)* (Glasgow, 1938), p. 5.

[223] Lit., "drive."

[224] Music is not treated among the sciences, although it is enumerated among them. Cf. 3:112, below.

[225] Cf. Ibn Abî Zayd, *Risâlah*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, pp. 300 f.

ference of opinion as to the fact that they are forbidden. The art of singing is something entirely unconnected with the Qur'ân. It is true, in the recitation and pronunciation (of the Qur'ân), each letter (sound) requires a certain quantity of sound for its particular pronunciation, in as much as, for instance, the lengthening of vowels in the proper places is concerned,[226] the longer or shorter pronunciation of long vowels,[227] and similar things. Melodious music also requires a certain quantity of sound to materialize, because, as we have stated, its real meaning is harmony. However, considering the one (thing) ruins the other,[228] since they are the opposite of each other. The recitation of the Qur'ân must be given preference, in order to avoid any change in traditional transmission in connection with the Qur'ân. Thus, melodious music can, by no means, be combined with the pronunciation under consideration in connection with the Qur'ân. As regards the difference of opinion (among authorities as to the permissibility of melodious music for the recitation of the Qur'ân), the thing (the authorities) have in mind is the plain music to which nature guides the person who is musical (*miḍmâr*), as we have stated. Such a person arranges his sounds in certain harmonious cadences, which those who know about singing, as well as others, perceive (as music).[229] This is the point about which the difference of opinion (revolves).

The obvious (fact) is that the Qur'ân is (to be) kept free of it, (exactly) as the imam (Mâlik) thought. The Qur'ân is something that causes awe, as it reminds (man) of death and what comes after it. It is not an occasion to give pleasure in the perception of beautiful sounds. It was (in this spirit)

[226] The lengthening (*ishbâ'*) of short vowels (or, perhaps, the full-length pronunciation of long vowels, discussed in connection with the reading of the Qur'ân). Cf. the following note.

[227] For *madd*, cf. as-Suyûṭî, *Itqân*, I, 98 ff.

[228] That is, what is good for one party is detrimental to the other. The phrase sounds very much like a legal maxim. The Turkish translator paraphrases "the rules of music . . . the rules of Qur'ân recitation."

[229] Bulaq adds: "It is in no way necessarv. as Mâlik says." The sentence is also found in C, but is crossed out.

that the men around Muḥammad recited the Qur'ân, as is stated in their biographies. II, 358

The statement by Muḥammad, "A flute of those belonging to the family of David was brought to him," [230] does not refer to cadences and melodious music, but it refers to a beautiful voice, a clear pronunciation in reciting the Qur'ân, and a clear distinction in the articulation and enunciation of the letters (sounds).

Since we have mentioned the meaning of singing, it should be known that singing originates in a civilization when it becomes abundant and (people) progress from the necessities to the conveniences, and then to the luxuries, and have a great diversity of (luxuries). Then, the craft of singing originates, because it is required only by those who are free from all the necessary and urgent needs of making a living and care for domestic and other needs. It is in demand only by those who are free from all other worries and seek various ways of having pleasure. In the non-Arab states before Islam, music was highly developed in cities and towns. The (non-Arab) rulers cultivated it eagerly. It went so far that the Persian rulers felt a great concern for musicians. Musicians had a place in their dynasty and attended their sessions and gatherings and sang for them. The same is (still) the case with the non-Arabs at this time in all their regions and provinces.

The Arabs originally had (only) poetry.[231] They com-

[230] Cf. *Concordance*, II, 343*a*; al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, III, 407. The famous tradition is quoted in connection with the biography of Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî. Cf. adh-Dhahabî, *Ta'rîkh al-Islâm*, II, 256 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, V, 363. In the *Autobiography*, p. 45, Ibn Khaldûn says that his teacher az-Zawâwî possessed a voice belonging among the flutes of David's family.

According to the interpretation of the lexicographers (cf. *Lisân al-'Arab*, V, 416), we should understand *mizmâr* as the musical instrument (flute), not as corresponding to *mazmûr* "psalm," and *âl* "family" should be considered superfluous or as having here the otherwise unknown meaning of "person." As pointed out by H. G. Farmer in *EI*, *s.v.* "Mizmâr," it is clear that the statement harks back to the Biblical "a psalm of David," and means: "He psalmodizes like one of David's people." (Not like David himself, for that would be impossible for anyone not a prophet.) However, Ibn Khaldûn understood the statement as translated above.

[231] Cf. 3:373 ff., below.

posed a kind of speech consisting of equal parts of harmonious proportions, as far as the number of consonants with and without vowels was concerned. Within these parts, they divided speech in such a way that each part made sense by itself and did not have to lean upon the other. Such (part of speech) they called verse. It is agreeable to nature first by its division into parts, then by the harmonious arrangements of its parts at the ends and beginnings,[232] and then by the
II, 359 fact that it conveys the intended meaning and uses expressions conforming to (that meaning).

(The Arabs) appreciated (poetry) very highly. It was distinguished in their speech through a certain nobility, because it alone possessed harmony. They made poetry the archive of their history,[233] their wisdom, and their nobility, and the touchstone of their natural gift for expressing themselves correctly, choosing the best methods (*uslûb*, of expression). They have continued to do so.

The harmony resulting from (a division of speech into) parts, and (into an equal number of) consonants with and without vowels, is just one small drop in the ocean of sound harmony, as is well known from the literature [234] on music. However, (the Arabs) did not know anything except (poetry), because at that time, they practiced no science and knew no craft. The desert attitude was their dominant trait.

Now, camel drivers sang when they drove their camels, and young men sang when they were alone (with each other

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[232] *Al-maqâṭi' wa-l-mabâdi'*. Instead of *mabâdi'*, one would expect *al-maṭâli'* here, since this is the term literary critics link with *maqâṭi'*. As a technical term, *mabâdi'* usually (though not, of course, exclusively) refers to the opening of a poem, considered as a unit, but this would not apply here. The precise meaning of *maqâṭi'* and *maṭâli'* is a matter of dispute among literary critics. The two words are said to refer, respectively, either to the end and the beginning of a verse, or to the end of the first hemistich and the beginning of the second hemistich. Cf. Ibn Rashîq, *'Umdah* (Cairo, 1353/1934), I, 188 ff.; and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in his translation of the introduction to Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r* (Paris, 1947), p. 47 (n. 26).

[233] Ibn Rashîq, *'Umdah*, I, 17, ascribes this famous definition of poetry to Ibn 'Abbâs. Cf. also 3:304, 341, 367, 374, and 410, below.

[234] Although Ibn Khaldûn uses the singular "book," probably no specific work on music is meant here.

at times of leisure and recreation).[235] They repeated sounds and hummed them. When such humming was applied to poetry, it was called singing. When it was applied to the praise of God or some kind of recitation (of the Qur'ân), it was called *taghbîr*. Abû Isḥâq az-Zajjâj [236] explained this word as (derived from *al-ghâbir*, that is, melodies) reminding one of *al-ghâbir* "that which remains," that is, the affairs of the other world.

When (the Arabs) sang, they often effected a simple harmony between the modes, as was mentioned by Ibn Rashîq at the end of the *Kitâb al-'Umdah*,[237] and by others. This was called *sinâd*. Most (Arab music) was in the light rhythm (*khafîf*) that is used for dancing and marching, accompanied by drums and flutes. It causes emotion and makes the serious-minded feel light.[238] The Arabs called that *hazaj*. All these simple types of melodious music are primary ones. It is not unlikely to assume that they can be grasped by nature without any instruction, as is the case with all simple crafts.

The Arabs continued this way during their desert and II, 360
pre-Islamic period. Then, Islam made its appearance. (The Arabs) took possession of (all) the realms of the world. They deprived the non-Arabs of their rule and took it over. They had their well-known desert attitude and low standard of living. In addition, they possessed the thriving [239] religion (of Islam) and that (Muslim) religious severity which is

[235] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 163 f.

[236] Cf. n. 1214 to Ch. VI, below. Cf. also *Lisân al-'Arab*, VI, 307.

[237] Cf. Ibn Rashîq, *'Umdah*, II, 296. *Sinâd* is defined there as "the heavy (rhythm) that has repetitions and many trills (*naghamât*) and high-pitched notes." The above definition of *hazaj* is also derived from the *'Umdah*. Ibn Khaldûn does not mention the third kind mentioned in the *'Umdah*, called *naṣb*.

The three kinds are also mentioned together by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah; cf. J. Robson and H. G. Farmer, *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments*, p. 19. Robson and Farmer translate the definition of *sinâd* as follows: "the heavy (rhythm), having a refrain, the low-pitched voice, and the glottal hiatus." Cf., further, Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd* (Cairo, 1305/1887), III, 186; H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music* (London, 1929), p. 50.

[238] Ibn Khaldûn apparently means *al-ḥalûm*, and not *al-ḥulûm* "serious minds." The edition of the *'Umdah* quoted above has *al-ḥalîm*. Al-Mufaḍḍal reads *al-ḥulqûm* "the throat finds it easy."

[239] *Ghaḍârah*, as in the MSS.

directed against all activities of leisure and all the things that are of no utility in one's religion or livelihood. Therefore, (music) was avoided to some degree. In their opinion, only the cadenced recitation of the Qur'ân and the humming of poetry which had always been their way and custom, were pleasurable things.

Then, luxury and prosperity came to them, because they obtained the spoils of the nations. They came to lead splendid and refined lives and to appreciate leisure. The singers (now) left the Persians and Byzantines. They descended upon the Ḥijâz and became clients of the Arabs. They all sang accompanied by lutes, pandores, lyres,[240] and flutes. The Arabs heard their melodious use of sound, and they set their poems to music accordingly. In Medina, Nashîṭ al-Fârisî,[241] Ṭuways, and Sâ'ib Khâthir, a client of 'Abdallâh b. Ja'far (b. Abî Ṭâlib), made their appearance. They heard the poems of the Arabs and set them to music. They did it well, and they became famous. Ma'bad and his class of singers, as well as Ibn Surayj and his ilk, learned from them. Continual and gradual progress was made in the craft of singing. Eventually, in the days of the 'Abbâsids, (the craft of singing) reached its perfection with Ibrâhîm b. al-Mahdî, Ibrâhîm al-Mawṣilî, (Ibrâhîm's) son Isḥâq, and (Isḥâq's) son Ḥammâd.[242] (The music) and the (musical) sessions of Baghdad during the ('Abbâsid) dynasty have remained a topic of conversation down to the present time.

(People at that time) constantly had games and enter-
II, 361 tainments. Dancing equipment, consisting of robes and sticks, and poems to which melodies were hummed, were used. That was transformed into a special kind (of entertainment). Other dancing equipment, called *kurraj*, was also used. (The *kurraj*) is a wooden figure (resembling) a saddled horse and is attached to robes such as women wear. (The dancers) thus give the appearance of having mounted horses. They attack

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[240] Cf. H. G. Farmer in *EI*, *s.v.* "Mi'zaf."

[241] Information on all these famous musicians may be found in H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, pp. 52 ff., 79 ff., 116 ff., 171.

[242] Cf. also *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 223.

and withdraw [243] and compete in skill (with weapons). There were other such games intended for banquets, wedding parties, festivals, and (other) gatherings for leisure and entertainment. There was much of that sort in Baghdad and the cities of the 'Irâq. It spread from there to other regions.

The Mawṣilîs had a young (apprentice) servant, by name Ziryâb,[244] who had learned from them how to sing. He learned so well that they became jealous of him and sent him away to the West. He joined al-Ḥakam b. Hishâm b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân I, the amir of Spain. He (al-Ḥakam) honored him greatly. He rode out to welcome him. He showered him with gifts, fiefs, and allowances. He gave him a place in his dynasty as one of his boon companions. The musical heritage Ziryâb left in Spain was transmitted down to the time of the *reyes de taïfas*. In Sevilla, (the craft of singing) was highly developed. After (Sevilla) had lost its affluence, (the craft of singing) was transplanted from there to the coast of Ifrîqiyah and the Maghrib. It spread over the cities there. A sprinkling of it is still left there, despite retrogression in the civilization of the region and the decreasing power of its dynasties.

The craft of singing is the last of the crafts attained in civilization, because it constitutes (the last development toward) luxury with regard to no occupation in particular save that of leisure and gaiety. It also is the first to disappear from a given civilization when it disintegrates and retrogresses.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One." [245]

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[243] Cf. pp. 74 f., above.

This paragraph has been translated and discussed by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Sur le cheval-jupon et al-Kurraj," in *Mélanges offerts à William Marçais* (Paris, 1950), pp. 156 f. The word translated above as "sticks," is considered by Gaudefroy-Demombynes to mean *"instruments d'accompagnement,"* as it often does.

[244] 'Alî b. Nâfi'. Cf. H. G. Farmer in *EI, Supplement, s.v.* "Ziryâb." It was Isḥâq rather than his father Ibrâhîm al-Mawṣilî, with whom Ziryâb is said to have had difficulties. Ziryâb later was invited by al-Ḥakam to come to Spain, but al-Ḥakam died in 822, before Ziryâb could join him. Al-Ḥakam's son and successor, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân II, received Ziryâb in Spain in the manner described by Ibn Khaldûn.

[245] Qur'ân 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

II, *362* [32] *The crafts, especially writing and calculation, give intelligence to the person who practices them.*[246]

We [247] have already mentioned in the book that the rational soul exists in man only potentially.[248] Its transformation from potentiality into actuality is effected first by new sciences and perceptions derived from the *sensibilia*, and then by the later acquisition (of knowledge) through the speculative power. Eventually, it comes to be actual perception and pure intellect. Thus, it becomes a spiritual essence, and its existence then reaches perfection.

Therefore it is necessary that each kind of learning and speculation should provide (the rational soul) with additional intelligence. Now, the crafts and the habit of (the crafts) always lead to the obtainment of scientific norms, which result from the habit. Therefore, any experience provides intelligence. The habits of the crafts provide intelligence. Perfect sedentary culture provides intelligence, because it is a conglomerate of crafts characterized by concern for the (domestic) economy, contact with one's fellow men, attainment of education through mixing with (one's fellow men), and also administration of religious matters and understanding the ways and conditions governing them. All these (factors) are norms (of how to do things) which, properly arranged, constitute scientific disciplines. Thus, an increase in intelligence results from them.

In this respect, writing is the most useful craft because, in contrast to the (other) crafts, it deals with matters of theoretical, scientific interest. This is explained through (the circumstance) that writing involves a transition from the forms of the written letters to the verbal expressions in the imagination, and from the verbal expressions in the imagina-
II, *363* tion to the concepts (underlying them), which are in the

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[246] This section is added in C by the hand of the corrector.
[247] Cf. Issawi, pp. 141 f.
[248] Cf. 1:214 f., above.

soul.[249] The writer, thus, always goes from one indication [250] to another, as long as he is wrapped up in writing, and the soul becomes used to the constant (repetition of the process). Thus, it acquires the habit of going over from the indications to the things meant by them. This is what is meant by intellectual speculation, by means of which the knowledge of (hitherto) unknown sciences is provided. As the result of being accustomed to the process of going (over from the indications to the things indicated by them) people acquire the habit of intellection, which constitutes an increase in intelligence and provides an additional insight into affairs and a shrewd understanding of them. This is why Khosraw remarked of his secretaries, when he noticed that they had that kind of insight and shrewd understanding: "*Dêwâneh*," that is, (they are) Satans (devils) and crazy. This is said to be the etymology of *dîwân* (the ministry) of the secretaries.[251]

Calculation [252] is connected with (writing). Calculation entails a kind of working with numbers, "combining" and "separating" them,[253] which requires much deductive reasoning. Thus, (the person occupied with it) gets used to deductive reasoning and speculation, and this is what is meant by intelligence.

"God brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers. You did not then know anything. And He gave you hearing and vision and hearts." "You are little grateful." [254]

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[249] Cf. 3:281 f., 296, and 316 f., below.

[250] *Dalîl* "indication" might be translated "symbol" here.

[251] Cf. p. 20, above.

[252] That is, elementary arithmetic. Cf. 3:121 ff., below. The fact that Ibn Khaldûn mentions it here among the crafts would suggest that he has in mind its accounting and bookkeeping aspect.

[253] As explained below in the section on calculation, "combining" refers to addition and multiplication, "separating" to subtraction and division.

[254] Cf. Qur'ân 16.78 (80) and Qur'ân 7.10 (9); 23.78 (80); 32.9 (8); 67.23 (23). According to D, the concluding words were replaced later by "Perhaps, you might be grateful," a phrase from Qur'ân 16.78 (80). C also gives this, but the last lines of the section are added by a later hand. Cf. also p. 419, below, however, where we find the same combination of different Qur'ânic passages at a late stage in the text of the *Muqaddimah*.

Chapter VI

THE VARIOUS KINDS OF SCIENCES.
THE METHODS OF INSTRUCTION. THE CONDITIONS
THAT OBTAIN IN THESE CONNECTIONS. THE CHAPTER
INCLUDES A PREFATORY DISCUSSION
AND APPENDICES.[1]

[1] Ibn Khaldûn's chapter on the sciences constitutes the subject of a doctoral dissertation by S. van den Bergh, *Umriss der Muhammedanischen Wissenschaften nach Ibn Ḫaldûn* (Leiden, 1912).

PREFATORY DISCUSSION [2]

On man's ability to think, which distinguishes human beings from animals and which enables them to obtain their livelihood, to co-operate to this end with their fellow men, and to study the Master whom they worship, and the revelations that the Messengers transmitted from Him. God thus caused [3] all animals to obey man and to be in the grasp [4] of his power. Through his ability to think, God gave man superiority over many of His creatures.

II, 364

[1] *Man's ability to think.*

IT [5] SHOULD BE KNOWN that God distinguished man from all the other animals by an ability to think which He made the beginning of human perfection and the end of man's noble superiority over existing things.

This comes about as follows: Perception—that is, consciousness, on the part of the person who perceives, in his essence of things that are outside his essence—is something

[2] The first six sections of this chapter are a later addition not yet found in A or B, but appearing in C and D. In their place the earlier text had a much briefer section, printed in Bulaq and depending texts, as also at the end of Vol. II of the Paris edition (pp. 407 f.). The ideas briefly mentioned there reoccur in the larger text; cf., esp., pp. 417 f., below. What follows is a translation of that earlier section, a few lines of which were translated by Issawi, p. 140.

Science and instruction are natural to human civilization.

This is because all animals share with man his animality, as far as sensual perception, motion, food, shelter, and other such things are concerned. Man is distinguished from them by his ability to think. It enables him to obtain his livelihood, to co-operate to this end with his fellow men, to establish the social organization that makes such co-operation possible, and to accept the divine revelations of the prophets, to act in accordance with them, and to prepare for his salvation in the other world. He thinks about all these things constantly, and does not stop thinking for even so long as it takes the eye to blink. In fact, the action of thinking is faster than the eye can see.

Man's ability to think produces the sciences and the afore-mentioned

peculiar to living beings to the exclusion of all other being [6] and existent things. Living beings may obtain consciousness of things that are outside their essence through the external senses God has given them, that is, the senses of hearing, vision, smell, taste, and touch. Man has this advantage over the other beings that he may perceive things outside his essence through his ability to think, which is something beyond his senses. It is the result of (special) powers placed in the cavities of his brain.[7] With the help of these powers, man takes the pictures of the *sensibilia*, applies his mind to them, and thus abstracts from them other pictures. The ability to think is the occupation with pictures that are beyond sense perception, and the application of the mind to them for analysis and synthesis. This is what is meant by the word *af'idah* "hearts" in the Qur'ân: "He gave you hearing and vision and hearts." [8] *Af'idah* "hearts" is the plural of *fu'âd*. It means here the ability to think.

The ability to think has several degrees. The first degree is man's intellectual understanding of the things that exist in the outside world in a natural or arbitrary order, so that

crafts. In connection with the ability to obtain the requirements of nature, which is engrained in man as well as, indeed, in animals, his ability to think desires to obtain perceptions that it does not yet possess. Man, therefore, has recourse to those who preceded him in a science, or had more knowledge or perception than he, or learned a particular science from earlier prophets who transmitted information about it to those whom they met. He takes over such things from them, and is eager to learn and know them.

His ability to think and to speculate, then, directs itself to one of the realities. He speculates about every one of the accidents that attach themselves to the essence of (that reality). He persists in doing so until it becomes a habit of his, always to combine all its accidents with a given reality. So, his knowledge of the accidents occurring in connection with a particular reality becomes a specialized knowledge. Members of the next generation desire to obtain that knowledge. Therefore, they repair to the people who know about it. This is the origin of instruction. It has thus become clear that science and instruction are natural to human beings.

And God knows better.

[3] *Fa-aṣâra:* D. [4] *Leg. malakati.*

[5] Cf. Issawi, p. 167.

[6] *Al-mumkinât* "possible": D.

[7] Cf. 1:197, 210, above, and 3:105, 295, below.

[8] Qur'ân 16.78 (80).

he may try to arrange them with the help of his own power. This kind of thinking mostly consists of perceptions. It is the discerning intellect,[8a] with the help of which man obtains the things that are useful for him and his livelihood, and repels the things that are harmful to him. II, *365*

The second degree is the ability to think which provides man with the ideas and the behavior needed in dealing with his fellow men and in leading them. It mostly conveys apperceptions, which are obtained one by one through experience, until they have become really useful. This is called the experimental intellect.

The third degree is the ability to think which provides the knowledge, or hypothetical knowledge, of an object beyond sense perception without any practical activity (going with it). This is the speculative intellect. It consists of both perceptions and apperceptions. They are arranged according to a special order, following special conditions, and thus provide some other knowledge of the same kind, that is, either perceptive or apperceptive. Then, they are again combined with something else, and again provide some other knowledge. The end of the process is to be provided with the perception of existence as it is, with its various genera, differences, reasons, and causes. By thinking about these things, (man) achieves perfection in his reality and becomes pure intellect and perceptive soul. This is the meaning of human reality.

[2] *The world of the things that come into being as the result of action, materializes through thinking.*

It should be known that the world of existent things comprises pure essences, such as the elements, the things resulting from their influence, and the three things that come into being from the elements, namely, minerals, plants, and

[8a] Cf. E. I. J. Rosenthal, "Ibn Jaldûn's Attitude to the Falâsifa" in *al-Andalus*, XX (1955), p. 81.

animals. All these things are connected with the divine power.

It also comprises actions proceeding from living beings, that happen through their intentions, and are connected with the power that God has given them. Some of their actions are well arranged and orderly. Such are human actions. Others are not well arranged and orderly. They are the actions of living beings other than man.

II, *366* This is because [9] thinking perceives the order that exists among the things that come into being either by nature or through arbitrary arrangement. When it intends to create something, it must understand the reason or cause of that thing, or the conditions governing it, for the sake of the order that exists among the things that come into being. (Reason, cause, or conditions) are, in general, the principles of that particular thing, since it is secondary to them, and it is not possible to arrange for something that comes earlier to come later, or for something that comes later to come earlier. Such a principle must have another principle to which its own existence is posterior. This (regression) may go on in an ascending order (from principle to principle), or it may come to an end. Now, when man, in his thinking, has reached the last principle on two, three, or more levels, and starts the action that will bring the (planned) thing into existence, he will start with the last principle that has been reached by his thinking. Thus, (that last principle) will be the beginning of action. He, then, will follow things up to the last element in the causal chain that had been the starting point of his thinking activity.

For instance, if a man thinks of bringing into existence a roof to shelter him, he will progress in his mind (from the roof) to the wall supporting the roof, and then to the foundation upon which the wall stands. Here, his thinking will end, and he will then start to work on the foundation, then (go on to) the wall, and then (to) the roof, with which his action will

[9] C and D: *wa-dhâlika anna.*

end. This is what is meant by the saying: "The beginning of action is the end of thinking, and the beginning of thinking is the end of action." [10]

Thus, human action in the outside world materializes only through thinking about the order of things, since things are based upon each other. After (he has finished thinking), he starts doing things. His thinking starts with the thing that comes last in the causal chain and is done last. His action starts with the first thing in the causal chain, which thinking

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[10] Cf. 3:275, below. With its component parts inverted, the statement appears in aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Firdaws al-ḥikmah*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, p. 6; Ibn Qutaybah, *Adab al-kâtib*, ed. M. Grünert (Leiden, 1901), pp. 4 f.; as-Samaw'al al-Maghribî, *al-Bâhir*, MS. Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 2718, fol. 26*b*. The first half of the statement is found in Pseudo-Majrîṭî, *Ghâyah*, ed. H. Ritter, p. 319, and in Ibn Sînâ, *Ta'lîqât 'alâ ḥawâshî Kitâb an-Nafs li-Arisṭû*, ed. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân Badawî, in *Arisṭû 'inda l-'Arab* (Cairo, 1947), p. 112. A related remark appears in the *Theology of Aristotle*, ed. F. Dieterici (Leipzig, 1882), p. 11. Further references in M. Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1925), I, 62.

Some of the authors who quote the statement ascribe it to the Sage or the Philosopher, and, in fact, it goes back to Aristotle. In the *Eudemian Ethics* 1227^{b} 32 f., Aristotle says: "Thus, the End is the beginning of thinking, but the conclusion of thinking is (the beginning) of action." This statement is quoted by Ioannes Philoponus in his commentary on Aristotle *Physics* 200^{a} 22–24; see the ed. Vitelli (Berlin, 1887), p. 335: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XVI. There it is followed by a statement almost exactly corresponding to the Arabic quotation: "Theory starts where action ends, and action starts where theory ends." * Cf. *In Cat.*, pp. 115 ff. Busse.

Moreover, in *De anima* 433^{a} 16 f., speaking about appetite, Aristotle says: "The terminal point (of the practical intellect) is the beginning of action." In his commentary on *De anima*, Ioannes Philoponus succinctly explains this as "The end of the intellect is the beginning of action" (ed. Hayduck, Berlin, 1897, p. 585: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XV). This corresponds to the form of the statement we find in Ibn Sînâ and Pseudo-Majrîṭî.

The entire passage is based upon an idea that we find developed, for instance, by Simplicius in his *Commentary on the Categories*, ed. Kalbfleisch (Berlin, 1907), p. 14: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, VIII. Simplicius states that theory and practice proceed in opposite directions, since theory proceeds from the end to the beginning, and practice from the beginning to the end. Theory realizes that man needs a house as a shelter, that a house cannot be built without walls, that walls need foundations, and that foundations require an excavation. Now, practice starts with the excavation, etc. It remains to be investigated through which intermediary this material from Simplicius (and other introductions to Aristotelian philosophy that were translated into Arabic) reached Ibn Khaldûn. Averroes was probably one of them. * Cf. S. M. Stern, in *Journal of Sem. Studies*, VII (1962), 234–52.

reaches last. Once this order is taken into consideration, human actions proceed in a well-arranged manner.

On the other hand, the actions of living beings other than
II, 367 man are not well arranged. They lack the thinking that acquaints the agent with the order of things governing his actions. Animals [11] perceive only with the senses. Their perceptions are disconnected and lack a connecting link, since only thinking can constitute such (a connecting link).

Now, the things that come into being [12] that are of consequence in the world of existent things, are those that are orderly. Those that are not orderly are secondary to them. The actions of animals, therefore, are subordinate to (orderly human actions). Consequently, their services are forcibly utilized by man. Thus, human actions control the (whole) world of things that come into being and all it contains. Everything is subservient to man and works for him. This is what is meant by the "appointing of a representative" mentioned in the Qur'ân: "I am appointing a representative on earth." [13]

The ability to think is the quality of man by which human beings are distinguished from other living beings. The degree to which a human being is able to establish an orderly causal chain determines his degree of humanity. Some people are able to establish a causal nexus for two or three levels. Some are not able to go beyond that. Others may reach five or six. Their humanity, consequently, is higher. For instance, some chess players are able to perceive (in advance) three or five moves the order of which is arbitrary. Others are unable to do that, because their mind is not good enough for it. This example is not quite to the point, because (the knowledge of) chess is a habit, whereas the knowledge of causal chains is something natural. However, it is an example the student may use to gain an intellectual understanding of the basic facts mentioned here.

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[11] Cf. Issawi, pp. 166 f.
[12] *Al-ḥawâdith*: D.
[13] Qur'ân 2.30 (28).

God created man and gave him superiority over many of His creatures.[14]

[3] *The experimental intellect and how it comes into being.* II, 368

One knows from philosophical works the statement that "man is political by nature." [15] The philosophers cite that statement in connection with establishing the existence of prophecy and other things. The adjective "political" refers to the "town" (*polis*), which they use as another word for human social organization.

The statement means that a single human being cannot live by himself, and his existence can materialize only in association with his fellow men. (Alone) he would be unable to have a complete existence and lead a complete life. By his very nature, he needs the co-operation of others to satisfy all his needs. Such co-operation requires, firstly, consultation, and, then, association and the things that follow after it. Dealings with other people, when there is oneness of purpose <may lead to mutual affection, and when the purposes differ, they> [15a] may lead to strife and altercation. Thus, mutual dislike and mutual affection, friendship and hostility, originate. This leads to war and peace among nations and tribes.

(Among human beings,) this does not happen haphazardly, as is the case among stray animals. God caused human beings to act in an orderly and well-arranged manner, as the result of their ability to think, as has been mentioned before.[16] Therefore, God had (their actions) take place among them in an orderly manner, and He enabled them to arrange for (their activities) under political aspects and according to philosophical norms. Those (political aspects and philo-

[14] Cf. Qur'ân 17.70 (72).

[15] Cf. pp. 1:lxxv and 89, above.

[15a] Following the reading *ittiḥâd* "oneness," one must assume an omission in the text, as indicated. However, the slight correction to *ittikhâdh* would yield an acceptable meaning, "when they follow their (different) purposes, may lead to strife. . . ."

[16] Cf. pp. 414 f., above.

sophical norms) lead human beings from the things that are detrimental (to them), to those that are in their interest, and from evil to the good. First, however, they must recognize the things that are evil, and the detrimental effect of doing them, from sound experience and current customs. Thus, they are distinguished from stray animals. The result of their ability to think shows itself in the fact that their actions are orderly and not likely to be detrimental.

II, *369* The concepts bringing this about are not completely divorced from sensual perception and do not require very deep study. All of them are obtained through experience and derived from it. They are particular [17] concepts connected with the *sensibilia*. Their truth or falsehood soon comes out in events. From (events) the student of these concepts can learn them. Each human being can learn as much of them as he is able to. He can pick up (his knowledge) with the help of experience among the events that occur in his dealings with his fellow men. Eventually, he will have what is necessary and must be done, and must not be done, fixed in his (mind). By knowing this well,[18] then, the proper habit of dealing with his fellow men will be obtained by him.

Those who follow this (procedure) during their whole life become acquainted with every single problem, (but) things that depend on experience require time. God made it easy for many human beings to obtain this (social knowledge) in a time shorter than the time required to obtain it through experience, if they will follow the experience of their fathers, teachers, and elders, learn from them, and accept their instruction. People can, thus, dispense with lengthy and careful (personal) study of events and need not attempt to pick out concepts from them. But people who have no knowledge or tradition in this respect, or people who are not willing to learn and to follow (others), need long and careful study in order to be educated in these things. They are unfamiliar to them, and the knowledge they obtain of them is uneven.

[17] I.e., not universal.

[18] *Bi-mulâbasatihî:* C and D.

Their manners and dealings with others will be badly planned and show defects. Their chances of making a living among their fellow men will be spoiled.

This is the meaning of the famous saying: "He who is not educated by his parents will be educated by time." [19] That is, he who does not acquire the manners needed in dealing with human beings from his parents—which includes teachers and elders—and does not learn these things from them, has to II, 370
fall back upon learning them with the help of nature from the events that happen in the course of time. Thus, time will teach and educate him, because he needs that education, since, by his very nature, he needs the co-operation of others.

Such is the experimental intellect. It is obtained after the discerning intellect that leads to action, as we have explained. After these two intellects, there is the (higher) degree of the speculative intellect. (Many) scholars have undertaken to explain it, and it is, therefore, not necessary to explain it in this book.

"God gave you hearing and vision and hearts." "You are little grateful." [20]

[4] *The sciences (knowledge) of human beings and the sciences (knowledge) of angels.*

We observe in ourselves through sound intuition [21] the existence of three worlds.

The first of them is the world of sensual perception. We become aware of it by means of the perception of the senses, which the animals share with us.

Then, we become aware of the ability to think which is a special quality of human beings. We learn from it that the human soul exists. This knowledge is necessitated by the fact that we have in us scientific perceptions which are above

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[19] *Wâlidâhu* "his parents": C and D; *al-layl wa-n-nahâr* "night and day:" D. The latter form of the statement corresponds to the original verse by Ibrâhîm b. al-Mahdî, quoted in Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd*, I, 212.

[20] Cf. p. 407, above.

[21] Cf. n. 277 to Ch. 1, above.

the perceptions of the senses. They must thus be considered as another world, above the world of the senses.

Then, we deduce (the existence of) a third world, above us, from the influences that we find it leaves in our hearts, such as volition and an inclination toward active motions. Thus, we know that there exists an agent there who directs us toward those things from a world above our world. That world is the world of spirits and angels. It contains essences that can be perceived because of the existence of influences they exercise upon us, despite the gap between us and them.

Often, we may deduce (the existence of) that high
II, 371 spiritual world and the essences it contains, from visions and things we had not been aware of while awake but which we find in our sleep and which are brought to our attention in it and which, if they are true (dreams), conform with actuality. We thus know that they are true and come from the world of truth. "Confused dreams," on the other hand, are pictures of the imagination that are stored inside by perception and to which the ability to think is applied, after (man) has retired from sense perception.[22]

We do not find any clearer proof than this for (the existence) of the spiritual world. Thus, we have a general knowledge of it, but no particulars. The metaphysicians make conjectures about details concerning the essences of the spiritual world and their order. They call these essences "intellects." However, none of it is certain, because the conditions of logical argumentation as established in logic do not apply to it. One of these conditions is that the propositions of the argument must be primary and essential, but the spiritual essences are of an unknown essentiality. Thus, logical argumentation cannot be applied to them. Our only means of perceiving something of the details of these worlds are what we may glean from matters of religious law, as explained and established by religious faith.

Of the (three) worlds, the one we can perceive best is the

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[22] Cf. 1:211, above.

world of human beings, since it is existential and attested by our corporeal and spiritual perceptions. The world of the senses is shared by us with the animals, but the world of the intellect and the spirits is shared by us with the angels, whose essences are of the same kind as the essences of that world. They are essences free from corporeality and matter, and they are pure intellect in which intellect, thinker, and the object of thinking are one. It is, in a way, an essence the reality of which is perception and intellect.

The sciences (knowledge) of the (angels), thus, always agree by nature with the things to be known. They can never II, *372* have any defect. The knowledge of human beings, on the other hand, is the attainment of the form of the thing to be known in their essences, after it had not been there. It is all acquired. The essence in which the forms of the things to be known are obtained, namely, the soul, is a material substance [23] that gradually takes over the forms of existence with the help of the forms of the things to be known that it obtains. Eventually, it reaches perfection, and, through death, its existence fulfills itself as regards both its matter and its form.

The objects in the soul are subject to constant vacillation between negation and assertion. One of the two is sought by means of some middle (term) to connect the two extremes. When that is achieved and the object has become known, it must be explained that there exists agreement (between knowledge and the thing known). Such agreement may often be clarified by technical logical argumentation, but that is from "behind the veil," and it is not like the direct vision [23a] that is found in connection with the sciences (knowledge) of the angels.

The "veil" may be removed, and the agreement may, thus, be effected through direct perceptive vision. It has been explained that human beings are ignorant by nature, because

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[23] This is the reading of C (*mâddah*). D has "form."

[23a] The phrasing of the Arabic text calls to mind the famous saying, which is also cited as a *ḥadîth*, that "information (received from others) is not like seeing (things) with one's own eyes."

vacillation affects their knowledge. They learn through acquisition (of knowledge) and technique, because they obtain the objects they seek by applying their ability to think according to technical rules. The removal of the veil to which we have referred is achieved only through training in *dhikr* exercises [24]—of which the best is prayer, which forbids sinful and evil actions—through abstinence from all distracting food of consumption—of which the most important part [25] is fasting—and through devoting oneself to God with all one's powers.

"God taught man what he did not know." [26]

[5] *The sciences (knowledge) of the prophets.*

We find that this kind of human being is in a divine con-
II, 373 dition that is different from (ordinary) human ambitions and conditions. In prophets, the trend toward the divine is more powerful than their humanity, as far as the powers of perception, the powers of desire—that is, concupiscence and wrath—and the other conditions of the body are concerned. (Prophets) keep away from things human, except in as much as they are necessary for life. They turn toward divine matters, such as worship and the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, as their knowledge of Him requires. They give information about Him and (transmit) the revelation for the guidance of the nation (of believers) which they received in (their divine) condition. They do that according to one particular method and in a manner known to be peculiar to them. It undergoes no change in them and is like a natural disposition which God has given them.

Revelation has already been discussed by us at the beginning of the book, in the chapter dealing with people who possess supernatural perception.[27] We explained there that the whole of existence in (all) its simple and composite

[24] Cf. 3:81, below.
[25] *Leg. wa-ra'suhû.*
[26] Qur'ân 96.5 (5).
[27] Cf. 1:184 ff., and, in particular, 1:194 f., above.

worlds is arranged in a natural order of ascent and descent, so that everything constitutes an uninterrupted continuum. The essences at the end of each particular stage of the worlds are by nature prepared to be transformed into the essence adjacent to them, either above or below them. This is the case with the simple material elements; it is the case with palms and vines, (which constitute) the last stage of plants, in their relation to snails and shellfish, (which constitute) the (lowest) stage of animals. It is also the case with monkeys, creatures combining in themselves cleverness and perception, in their relation to man, the being who has the ability to think and to reflect. The preparedness (for transformation) that exists on either side, at each stage of the worlds, is meant when (we speak about) their connection.[27a]

Above the human world, there is a spiritual world. It is known to us by its influence upon us, in that it gives us the powers of perception and volition. The essences of that spiritual world are pure perception and absolute intellection. It is the world of the angels. II, 374

It follows from all this that the human soul must be prepared to exchange humanity for angelicality, in order actually to become part of the angelic species at any time, in a single instant. It will afterwards resume its humanity. But in the world of angelicality, it has meanwhile accepted (ideas) that it is charged to transmit to its fellow human beings. That is the meaning of revelation and being addressed by the angels.

All prophets possess this predisposition. It is like a natural disposition for them. In exchanging (their humanity for angelicality), they experience strain and sensations of choking, as is known in this connection.[28]

[27a] For the idea expressed in this paragraph, cf. *Rasâ'il Ikhwân aṣ-ṣafâ'*, IV, 313 ff., a passage which at one time provoked an overenthusiastic comparison with Darwinism. Cf. F. Dieterici, *Der Darwinismus im X. und XIX. Jahrhundert* (Die Philosophie der Araber, No. 9) (Leipzig, 1878), pp. 29 ff., 220 ff. Cf. also H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabî* (Leiden, 1919), p. 93 f. (Ar. text).

[28] Cf. I:184 f., above.

Their (supernatural) knowledge is one of direct observation and vision. No mistake or slip attaches itself to it, and it is not affected by errors or unfounded assumptions. The agreement in it is an essential one, because the veil of the supernatural is gone, and clear and direct observation has been attained. When [29] (the prophets) quit that state and reassume their humanity, this clarity does not quit the knowledge they have, for it has become attached to it in the former condition. And because they possess the virtue that brings them to that condition, their (experience) constantly repeats itself, until their guidance of the nation (of believers), which was the purpose for which they were sent, is accomplished. Thus, it is said in the Qur'ân: "I am merely a human being like you, to whom it has been revealed that your God is one God. Thus, be straightforward with Him and ask Him for forgiveness." [30]

This should be understood. One should compare what we said earlier at the beginning of the book, about the different kinds of people possessing supernatural perception. It will constitute clear comment and explanation. There, we have explained the matter at sufficient length.

God gives success.

II, 375 [6] *Man is essentially ignorant, and becomes learned through acquiring (knowledge).*

We have already explained at the beginning of these sections [31] that man belongs to the genus of animals and that God distinguished him from them by the ability to think, which He gave man and through which man is able to arrange his actions in an orderly manner. This is the discerning intellect. Or, when it helps him to acquire from his fellow men a knowledge of ideas and of the things that are useful or detrimental to him, it is the experimental intellect. Or, when

[29] *Wa-'inda:* C.
[30] Qur'ân 41.6 (5).
[31] Cf. p. 411, above.

it helps him to obtain perception of the existent things as they are, whether they are absent or present,[32] it is the speculative intellect.

Man's ability to think comes to him (only) after the animality in him has reached perfection. It starts from discernment. Before man has discernment, he has no knowledge whatever, and is counted one of the animals. His origin, the way in which he was created from a drop of sperm, a clot of blood, and a lump of flesh,[33] still determines his (mental make-up). Whatever he attains subsequently is the result of sensual perception and the "hearts"—that is, the ability to think—God has given him. In recounting the favor He bestowed upon us, God said: "And He gave you hearing and vision and hearts." [34]

In his first condition, before he has attained discernment, man is simply matter, in as much as he is ignorant of all knowledge. He reaches perfection of his form through knowledge, which he acquires through his own organs. Thus, his human essence reaches perfection of existence.

One may compare the word of God when His Prophet began to receive the revelation. "Recite: In the name of your Lord who created, created man out of a clot of blood. Recite: And your Lord the most noble who taught with the calamus, taught man what he did not know." [35] That is, He let him acquire knowledge he did not yet possess, after he had been a clot of blood and a lump of flesh.

Man's nature and essence reveal to us the essential ignorance and acquired (character of the) knowledge that man possesses, and the noble verse of the Qur'ân refers to it at the very beginning and opening of the revelation, and establishes through it the fact that (man) has received (from II, *376*

[32] I.e., supernatural, or perceivable by the senses.

[33] Cf. Qur'ân 22.5 (5).

[34] Qur'ân 16.78 (80).

[35] Qur'ân 96.1–5 (1–5), considered to be the first Qur'ânic verses revealed to Muḥammad.

God) as a favor the first of the stages of his existence, which is humanity and its two conditions, the innate one and the acquired one.

"God has been knowing and wise." [36]

[7] *Scientific instruction is a craft.*[37]

This is because skill in a science, knowledge of its diverse aspects, and mastery of it are the result of a habit which enables its possessor to comprehend all the basic principles of that particular science, to become acquainted with its problems, and to evolve the details of it from its principles. As long as such a habit has not been obtained, skill in a particular discipline is not forthcoming.

Habit is different from understanding and knowing by memory. Understanding of a single problem in a single discipline may be found equally in someone well versed in the particular discipline and in the beginner, in the common man who has no scientific knowledge whatever, and in the accomplished scholar. Habit, on the other hand, belongs solely and exclusively to the scholar or the person well versed in scientific disciplines. This shows that (scientific) habit is different from understanding.

All habits are corporeal, whether they are of the body, or, like arithmetic, of the brain and resulting from man's ability to think and so on. All corporeal things are *sensibilia.* Thus, they require instruction. Therefore, a tradition of famous teachers with regard to instruction in any science or craft, is acknowledged (to be necessary) by the people of every region and generation (race).

The fact that scientific instruction is a craft is also shown
II, 377 by the differences in technical terminologies. Every famous authority has his own technical terminology for scientific instruction, as is the case with all crafts. This shows that technical terminology is not a part of science itself. If it

[36] Qur'ân 4.17 (20), 92 (94), 104 (105), 111 (111), 170 (168); 48.4 (4).

[37] For elementary and higher education, see also 3:292 ff., and, esp., 3:300 ff., below.

were, it would be one and the same with all scholars. One knows how much the technical terminology used in the teaching of speculative theology differs between the ancients and the moderns. The same applies to the principles of jurisprudence as well as to Arabic (philology) and to jurisprudence. It applies to any science one undertakes to study. The technical terminologies used in teaching it are always found to be different. This shows that the (terminologies) are crafts used for instruction, while each individual science as such is one and the same.

If [38] this has been established, it should be known that the tradition of scientific instruction at this time has practically ceased (to be cultivated) among the inhabitants of the Maghrib, because the civilization of the Maghrib has disintegrated and its dynasties have lost their importance, and this has resulted in the deterioration and disappearance of the crafts, as was mentioned before.[39] Al-Qayrawân and Córdoba were centers of sedentary culture in the Maghrib and in Spain, respectively. Their civilization was highly developed, and the sciences and crafts were greatly cultivated and very much in demand in them. Since these two cities lasted a long time and possessed a sedentary culture, scientific instruction became firmly rooted in them. But when they fell into ruins, scientific instruction ceased (to be cultivated) in the West. Only a little of it, derived from (al-Qayrawân and Córdoba), continued to exist during the Almohad dynasty in Marrakech. Sedentary culture, however, was not firmly rooted in Marrakech because of the original Bedouin attitude of the Almohad dynasty and because of the shortness of time between its beginning and its destruction. Sedentary culture enjoyed only a very minor continuity there.

After the destruction of the dynasty in Marrakech,[40] in the middle of the seventh [thirteenth] century, Judge Abû II, *378*

[38] Cf. Issawi, pp. 144 f.

[39] Cf. pp. 349 ff., above.

[40] Ibn Khaldûn refers to the destruction of Almohad rule by the Merinid Abû Yûsuf Ya'qûb in 1269.

l-Qâsim b. Zaytûn [41] traveled from Ifrîqiyah to the East. He entered into contact with the pupils of the imam Ibn al-Khaṭîb.[42] He studied with them and learned their (method of) instruction. He became skilled in intellectual and traditional matters. Then, he returned to Tunis with a great deal of knowledge and a good (method of) instruction. He was followed back from the East by Abû 'Abdallâh b. Shu'ayb ad-Dukkâlî,[43] who had traveled from the Maghrib to (Ibn Zaytûn). He studied with Egyptian professors and returned to Tunis, where he remained. His (method of) instruction was effective. The inhabitants of Tunis studied with both Ibn Zaytûn and Ibn Shu'ayb. Their tradition of scientific instruction was steadily continued by their pupils, generation after generation. Eventually, it reached Judge Muḥammad b. 'Abd-as-Salâm,[44] the commentator and pupil of Ibn al-Ḥâjib,[45] and was transplanted from Tunis to Tlemcen through Ibn al-Imâm [46] and his pupils. Ibn al-Imâm had studied with Ibn 'Abd-as-Salâm under the same professors in the same classes. Pupils of Ibn 'Abd-as-Salâm can be found at this time in Tunis, and pupils of Ibn al-Imâm in Tlemcen. However, they are so few that it is to be feared that the tradition may come to an end.

At the end of the seventh [thirteenth] century, Abû 'Alî

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[41] Abû l-Qâsim (this is his given name) b. Abî Bakr, born in 621 [1224], traveled in the East in 648 and 656 [1251 and 1258], and died in 691 [1292]. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 289.

[42] Marginal note in B: "This is the imam Fakhr-ad-dîn ar-Râzî." Cf. 1:402, above.

[43] Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb al-Haskûrî, d. 664 [1225]. The ethnical denomination ad-Dukkâlî seems to be an error. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *loc. cit.* However, Ibn Khaldûn also calls him Dukkâlî in the *Autobiography*, pp. 28 f.

[44] Cf. 1:xxxix, above. He was, of course, not personally a pupil of Ibn al-Ḥâjib.

[45] The famous author of grammatical and legal textbooks studied by Ibn Khaldûn, Abû 'Amr 'Uthmân b. al-Ḥâjib, d. 646 [1249]. Cf. *GAL*, 1, 303 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 531 ff.

[46] The two brothers, Abû Zayd 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, d. 743 [1342/43], and Abû Mûsâ 'Îsâ, d. in the plague of 1348/49. On the former's date, cf. Ibn Farḥûn, *Dîbâj*, p. 152. They belonged to the generation that taught Ibn Khaldûn's teachers. Cf. the *Autobiography*, pp. 28–31, and the literature quoted there.

Nâṣir-ad-dîn al-Mashaddâlî [47] traveled eastward [48] from Zawâwah and got in touch with the pupils of Abû 'Amr b. al-Ḥâjib. He studied with them and learned their (method of) instruction. He studied with Shihâb-ad-dîn al-Qarâfî [49] in the same classes. He became skilled in intellectual and traditional matters. He returned to the Maghrib with much knowledge and an effective (method of) instruction. He settled in Bougie. His tradition of scientific instruction was steadily continued among the students of Bougie. 'Imrân al-Mashaddâlî,[50] one of his pupils, frequently went to Tlemcen. He settled in II, 379
Tlemcen and propagated his method there. At this time, in Tlemcen and Bougie, his pupils are few, very few.

Fez and the other cities of the Maghrib have been without good instruction since the destruction of scientific instruction in Córdoba and al-Qayrawân. There has been no continuous tradition of scientific instruction in Fez. Therefore, it has been difficult for the people of Fez to obtain the scientific habit and skill.

The easiest method of acquiring the scientific habit is through acquiring the ability to express oneself clearly in discussing and disputing scientific problems. This is what clarifies their import and makes them understandable. Some students spend most of their lives attending scholarly sessions. Still, one finds them silent. They do not talk and do not discuss matters. More than is necessary, they are concerned with memorizing. Thus, they do not obtain much of a habit in the practice of science and scientific instruction. Some of them think that they have obtained (the habit). But when they enter into a discussion or disputation, or do some teaching, their

[47] Manṣûr b. Aḥmad, *ca.* 632–731 [1235–1330/31]. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, II, 289. The vocalization Mashaddâlî is suggested in the *Autobiography*, p. 59, and by as-Sakhâwî, *aḍ-Ḍaw' al-lâmi'* (Cairo, 1353–55/1934–36), VIII, 290. Cf. also 3:19 below.

[48] The word "east" is found in C and D.

[49] Aḥmad b. Idrîs, d. 684 [1285]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 385; *Suppl.*, I, 665 f.; also A. M. Sayılı in *Isis*, XXXII (1940), 16–26.

[50] 'Imrân b. Mûsâ, 670–745 [1271/72–1344/45], who was a pupil and son-in-law of Nâṣir-ad-dîn. Cf. Ibn al-Khaṭîb, *al-Iḥâṭah*, II, 143, and the *Autobiography*, p. 59.

scientific habit is found to be defective. The only reason for their deficiency is (lack of) instruction, together with the break in the tradition of scientific instruction (that affects them). Apart from that, their memorized knowledge may be more extensive than that of other scholars, because they are so much concerned with memorizing. They think that scientific habit is identical with memorized knowledge. But that is not so.

This is attested in the Maghrib (in Morocco) by the fact that the period specified for the residence of students in college there is sixteen years, while in Tunis it is five years. Such a (fixed) period of attendance is recognized as the shortest in which a student can obtain the scientific habit he desires, or can realize that he will never be able to obtain it.

II, 380 In the Maghrib (in Morocco), the period is so long at the present day for the very reason that the poor quality of scientific instruction there makes it difficult (for the student to acquire the scientific habit), and not for any other reason.

The institution of scientific instruction has disappeared among the inhabitants of Spain. Their (former) concern with the sciences is gone, because Muslim civilization in Spain has been decreasing for hundreds of years. The only scholarly discipline remaining there is Arabic (philology) and literature, to which the (Spanish Muslims) restrict themselves. The tradition of teaching these disciplines is preserved among them, and thus the disciplines as such are preserved. Jurisprudence is an empty institution among them and a mere shadow of its real self. Of the intellectual disciplines, not even a shadow remains, The only reason for that is that the tradition of scientific instruction has ceased (to be cultivated) in Spain, because civilization there has deteriorated and the enemy has gained control over most of it, except for a few people along the coast who are more concerned with making a living than with the things that come after it.

"God has the power to execute His commands." [51]

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[51] Qur'ân 12.21 (21).

Superior Scientific Instruction in the East

In [52] the East, the tradition of scientific instruction has not ceased (to be cultivated). Scientific instruction is very much in demand and greatly cultivated in the East, because of the continuity of an abundant civilization and the continuity of the tradition (of scientific instruction) there. It is true that the old cities, such as Baghdad, al-Baṣrah, and al-Kûfah, which were the (original) mines of scholarship, are in ruins. However, God has replaced them with cities even greater than they were. Science was transplanted from the (early centers) to the non-Arab 'Irâq of Khurâsân, to Transoxania in the East, and to Cairo and adjacent regions in the West. These cities have never ceased to have an abundant and continuous civilization, and the tradition of scientific instruction has always persisted in them.

The inhabitants of the East are, in general, more firmly rooted in the craft of scientific instruction and, indeed, in all the other crafts (than Maghribîs). In fact, many Maghribîs who have traveled to the East in quest of knowledge, have been of the opinion that [53] the intellect of the people of the East is, in general, more perfect than that of the Maghribîs. II, *381*
They have supposed the rational souls (of the people of the East) to be by nature more perfect than those of the Maghribîs. They have claimed that there exists a difference in the reality of humanity between ourselves (the Maghribîs) and them,[54] because their cleverness in the sciences and crafts seemed remarkable to them. This is not so. There is no difference between the East and the West great enough (to be considered) a difference in the reality (of human nature), which is one (and the same everywhere).

(Such a difference) does in fact exist in the intemperate zones, such as the first and the seventh zones. The tempers there are intemperate, and the souls are correspondingly intemperate, as has been mentioned before.[55] The superiority

[52] Cf. Issawi, pp. 50–52, 145.

[53] Bulaq adds: "it was their original nature which made the people of the East more awake and clever, and . . ."

[54] Bulaq adds: "They were biased and partial in this respect . . ."

[55] Cf. 1:168 and 171, above.

of the inhabitants of the East over those of the West lies in the additional intelligence that accrues to the soul from the influences of sedentary culture, as has been stated before in connection with the crafts.[56] We are now going to comment on that and to verify it. It is as follows:

Sedentary people observe (a) particular (code of) manners in everything they undertake and do or do not do, and they thus acquire certain ways of making a living, finding dwellings, building houses, and handling their religious and worldly matters, including their customary affairs, their dealings with others, and all the rest of their activities.[57] These manners constitute a kind of limitation which may not be transgressed, and, at the same time, they are crafts that (later) generations take over from the earlier ones. No doubt, each craft that has its proper place within the arrangement of the crafts, influences the soul and causes it to acquire an additional intelligence, which prepares the soul for accepting still other crafts. The intellect is thus conditioned for a quick reception of knowledge.

We hear that the Egyptians have achieved things hardly
II, 382 possible in the teaching of the crafts. For instance, they teach domestic donkeys and (other) dumb animals, quadrupeds and birds, to speak words and to do things that are remarkable for their rarity and that the inhabitants of the Maghrib would not be capable of understanding, let alone teaching.[58]

Good habits in scientific instruction, in the crafts, and in all the other customary activities, add insight to the intellect of a man and enlightenment to his thinking, since the soul thus obtains a great number of habits. We have stated before [59] that the soul grows under the influence of the perceptions it receives and the habits accruing to it. Thus, (the people of the East) become more clever, because their souls

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[56] Cf. pp. 406 f., above.
[57] Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 164.
[58] Cf. pp. 348 f., above.
[59] Cf. pp. 406 f., above.

are influenced by scientific activity. The common people then suppose that it is a difference in the reality of humanity. This is not so. If one compares sedentary people with Bedouins, one notices how much more insight and cleverness sedentary people have. One might, thus, come to think that they really differ from the Bedouins in the reality of humanity and in intelligence. This is not so. The only reason for the difference is that sedentary people have refined technical habits and manners as far as customary activities and sedentary conditions are concerned, all of them things that are unknown to the Bedouins. Sedentary people possess numerous crafts, as well as the habits that go with them, and good (methods of) teaching the crafts. Therefore, those who do not have such habits think that they indicate an intellectual perfection possessed (exclusively) by sedentary people, and that the natural qualifications of the Bedouins are inferior to those of sedentary people. This is not so. We find Bedouins whose understanding, intellectual perfection, and natural qualifications are of the highest rank. The seeming (superiority of) sedentary people is merely the result of a certain polish the crafts and scientific instruction give them. It influences the soul, as we have stated before.[60] Now, the inhabitants of the II, *383* East are more firmly grounded and more advanced in scientific instruction and the crafts (than the Maghribîs), and the Maghribîs are closer to desert life, as we have stated before in the preceding section.[61] This leads superficial people to think that the inhabitants of the East are distinguished from the Maghribîs by a certain perfection (of theirs) touching the reality of humanity. That is not correct, as one should be able to understand.

God "gives in addition to the creatures whatever He wishes to give to them." [62]

[60] Cf. pp. 406 f., above.

[61] Ibn Khaldûn apparently refers to what he said at the beginning of the chapter, p. 427, above. Or, the reference may be to statements such as those made on pp. 353 f., or pp. 266 f.

[62] Qur'ân 35.1 (1).

[8] *The sciences are numerous only where civilization is large and sedentary culture highly developed.*[63]

The reason for this is that scientific instruction, as we have just stated, is one of the crafts. We have also stated before that the crafts are numerous only in cities. The quality and the number of the crafts depend on the greater or lesser extent of civilization in the cities and on the sedentary culture and luxury they enjoy, because (highly developed crafts) are something additional to just making a living. When civilized people have more labor available than they need for mere subsistence, such (surplus) labor is used for activities over and above making a living.[64] These activities are man's prerogative. They are the sciences and the crafts.

People who grow up in villages and uncivilized (thinly populated) cities and who have an innate desire for scientific activity, cannot find scientific instruction in those places. For scientific instruction is something technical, and there are no crafts among the inhabitants of the desert, as we have stated before.[65] These people, therefore, must travel and seek scientific instruction in cities where (civilization) is highly developed, as is the case with all crafts.

This may be exemplified by our previous statements[66] concerning Baghdad, Córdoba, al-Qayrawân, al-Baṣrah, and al-Kûfah. At the beginning of Islam, the civilizations (populations) were large, and sedentary culture existed in them. The sciences were then greatly cultivated there, and the people were widely versed in the various technical terminologies of scientific instruction, in the different kinds of sciences, and in posing problems and (inventing new) disciplines. They exceeded (all) who had come before them and surpassed (all) who came after them. But when the civilization of those cities decreased and their inhabitants were dispersed, the picture was completely reversed. Science and scientific instruction no

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[63] Cf. Issawi, pp. 143 f. [64] Cf. p. 347, above.
[65] Cf. p. 348, above.
[66] Cf. pp. 427 and 431, above.

longer existed in those cities, but were transplanted to other Muslim cities.

We, at this time, notice that science and scientific instruction exist in Cairo in Egypt, because the civilization of (Egypt) is greatly developed and its sedentary culture has been well established for thousands of years. Therefore, the crafts are firmly established there and exist in many varieties. One of them is scientific instruction. This (state of affairs) has been strengthened and preserved in Egypt by the events of the last two hundred years under the Turkish dynasty, from the days of Ṣalâḥ-ad-dîn b. Ayyûb on. This is because the Turkish amirs under the Turkish dynasty were afraid that their ruler might proceed against the descendants they would leave behind, in as much as they were his slaves or clients, and because chicanery and confiscation are always to be feared from royal authority. Therefore, they built a great many colleges, hermitages, and monasteries,[67] and endowed them with mortmain endowments that yielded income. They saw to it that their children would participate in these endowments, either as administrators or by having some other share in them. (This was their intention) in addition to the fact that they were inclined to do good deeds and hoped for (a heavenly) reward for their aspirations and actions. As a consequence, mortmain endowments became numerous, and the income and profit (from them) increased. Students and teachers increased in numbers, because a large number of stipends became available from the endowments. People traveled to Egypt from the 'Irâq and the Maghrib in quest of knowledge. Thus, the sciences were very much in demand and greatly cultivated there.[68]

"God creates whatever He wishes." [69]

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[67] All these institutions served mainly as places of study, scholarship, and contemplation.

[68] Cf. also the *Autobiography*, p. 279: "Since the old days of their masters, the Ayyûbid rulers, the members of this Turkish dynasty in Egypt and Syria have been erecting colleges for the teaching of the sciences, and monastic houses for the purpose of enabling the poor (Sufis) to follow the rules for acquiring orthodox Sufi ways of behavior through *dhikr* exercises and

II, 385 [9] *The various sciences that exist in contemporary civilization.*

It should be known that the sciences with which people concern themselves in cities and which they acquire and pass on through instruction, are of two kinds: one that is natural to man and to which he is guided by his own ability to think, and a traditional kind that he learns from those who invented it.

The first kind comprises the philosophical sciences. They are the ones with which man can become acquainted through the very nature of his ability to think and to whose objects, problems, arguments, and methods of instruction he is guided by his human perceptions, so that he is made aware of the distinction between what is correct and what is wrong in them by his own speculation and research, in as much as he is a thinking human being.

The second kind comprises the traditional, conventional sciences. All of them depend upon information based on the authority of the given religious law. There is no place for the intellect in them, save that the intellect may be used in connection with them to relate problems of detail with basic principles. Particulars that constantly come into being are not included in the general tradition by the mere fact of its existence. Therefore, they need to be related (to the general principles) by some kind of analogical reasoning. However, such analogical reasoning is derived from the (traditional) information, while the character of the basic principle, which

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supererogatory prayers. They took over that (custom) from the preceding caliphal dynasties. They set up buildings for (those institutions as mortmain gifts) and endowed (them) with lands that yielded income (sufficient) to provide stipends for students and Sufi ascetics. When there was excess income, they reserved it to their own descendants, because they feared lest their weak offspring should suffer want. Their example was imitated by men of wealth and high rank under their control. As a result, colleges and monastic houses are numerous in Cairo. They now furnish livings for poor jurists and Sufis. This is one of the good and permanent deeds of this Turkish dynasty."

[69] Qur'ân 3.47 (42), etc.

is traditional, remains valid (unchanged). Thus, analogical reasoning of this type reverts to being tradition (itself), because it is derived from it.[70]

The basis of all the traditional sciences is the legal material of the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, which is the law given us by God and His messenger, as well as the sciences connected with that material, by means of which we are enabled to utilize it. This, further, requires as auxiliary sciences the sciences of the Arabic language. Arabic is the language of Islam, and the Qur'ân was revealed in it.

The different kinds of traditional sciences are numerous, II, *386*
because it is the duty of the responsible Muslim to know the legal obligations God placed upon him and upon his fellow men. They are derived from the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, either from the text, or through general consensus, or through combination.

Thus, he must first study the explicit wording of the Qur'ân. This is the science of Qur'ân interpretation.

Then, he must study the Qur'ân, both with reference to the manner in which it has been transmitted and related on the authority of the Prophet who brought it from God, and with reference to the differences in the readings of the Qur'ân readers. This is the science of Qur'ân reading.

Then, he must study the manner in which the Sunnah is related to its originator (Muḥammad), and he must discuss the transmitters who have handed it down. He must know their circumstances and their probity, so that the information one receives from them may be trusted and so that one may be able to know the part of it, in accordance with the implications of which one must act.[71] These are the sciences of tradition.

Then, the process of evolving the laws from their basic principles requires some normative guidance to provide us with the knowledge of how that process takes place. This is the (science of the) principles of jurisprudence.

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[70] Cf. Bombaci, p. 453.
[71] Ibid.

After one knows the principles of jurisprudence, one can enjoy, as its result, the knowledge of the divine laws that govern the actions of all responsible Muslims. This is jurisprudence.

Furthermore, the duties (of the Muslim) may concern either the body or the heart. The (duties of the heart) are concerned with faith and the distinction between what is to be believed and what is not to be believed. This concerns the articles of faith which deal with the essence and attributes (of God), the events of the Resurrection, Paradise, punishment, and predestination, and entails discussion and defense of these subjects with the help of intellectual arguments. This is speculative theology.

The discussion of the Qur'ân and *ḥadîth* must be preceded by the (study of the) philological sciences, because it is based upon them. There are various kinds, such as lexicography, grammar, syntax and style,[72] and literature. We
II, 387 shall discuss each of these.

These traditional sciences are all restricted to Islam and the Muslims, even though every religious group has to have something of the sort. (The traditional sciences of Islam) are remotely comparable to (those of other religious groups), in that they are sciences of a religious law revealed by God to the lawgiver who transmits it. But as to the particulars, (Islam) is different from all other religious groups, because it abrogates them. All the pre-Islamic sciences concerned with religious groups are to be discarded, and their discussion is forbidden.

The religious law has forbidden the study of all revealed scriptures except the Qur'ân. Muḥammad said: "Consider the People of the Book neither as truthful nor as untruthful. Just say: 'We believe in what was revealed to us and revealed to you. Our God and your God are one.' "[73] And when the Prophet saw a leaf of the Torah in 'Umar's hand,

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[72] For *'ilm al-bayân*, cf. 3:332 ff., below.

[73] Qur'ân 29.46 (45). For this often-quoted *ḥadîth*, cf. J. Horovitz in *EI*, *s.v.* "Tawrât."

he got so angry that his anger showed in his face. Then, he said: "Did I not bring it to you white and clean? By God, if Moses were alive, he would have no choice but to follow me." [74]

The traditional legal sciences were cultivated in Islam in a way that permitted no further increase. The students of those sciences reached the farthest possible limit in knowledge of them. The various technical terminologies were refined, and order was brought into the various disciplines. The traditional sciences thus achieved exceeding excellence and refinement. Each discipline had its authorities to whom one referred, and its rules that were used for instruction. The West as well as the East had its share of famous traditional scholarship, as we are shortly going to mention, when we enumerate these disciplines. At this time, however, science II, 388
is at a standstill in the Maghrib, because civilization has decreased there and the tradition of science and scientific instruction has broken off, as we stated in the preceding section.[75] I do not know what God has done with the East. The assumption is that science is very much cultivated there and that the teaching of the sciences and of all necessary and luxury crafts continues there without interruption. The civilization and sedentary culture of the East are extensive, and students find support there through stipends from mortmain endowments which give them ample sustenance.[76]

God determines night and day.[77]

[10] *The Qur'ânic sciences of Qur'ân interpretation and Qur'ân reading.*

The Qur'ân is the word of God that was revealed to His Prophet and that is written down between the two covers of copies of the Qur'ân (*muṣḥaf*).

Its transmission has been continuous in Islam. However,

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[74] Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 185.
[75] The reference appears to be to pp. 427 ff., above.
[76] Cf. p. 435, above.
[77] Cf. Qur'ân 73.20 (20).

the men around Muḥammad transmitted it on the authority of the Messenger of God in different ways. These differences affect certain of the words in it and the manner in which the letters were pronounced. They were handed down and became famous. Eventually, seven specific ways of reading the Qur'ân became established. Transmission (of the Qur'ân readings), with their particular pronunciation, also was continuous. They came to be ascribed to certain men from among a large number of persons who had become famous as their transmitters.

The seven Qur'ân readings became the basis for reading the Qur'ân. Later on, other readings were occasionally added to the seven. However, they are not considered by the authorities on Qur'ân reading to be as reliably transmitted as (the seven).

The seven Qur'ân readings are well known from books which deal with them. Certain people have contested the continuity of their transmission. In their opinion, they are ways of indicating the pronunciation, and pronunciation is something that cannot definitely be fixed. This, however,
II, 389 they thought not to reflect upon the continuity of the transmission of the Qur'ân. The majority did not admit their view. They asserted the continuity of the transmission of the (seven readings). Others asserted the continuity (of all seven), except with regard to (the fine points of) pronunciation, such as the longer pronunciation of the long vowels and the weakening of the *alif*,[78] because the ear is not able to determine how it must be done. This is the correct opinion.

Qur'ân readers continued to circulate and transmit those readings, until the sciences were fixed in writing and treated systematically. Those readings, then, were set down in writing, along with the other sciences, and became a special craft and science in itself. People in the East and in Spain handed them down generation after generation. Eventually, Mujâ-

[78] For *tashîl*, a "weakening" of the *alif* in the case of two successive *alifs*, cf. as-Suyûṭî, *Itqân*, I, 100 f. (Ch. XXXIII).

hid, a client of the 'Âmirids,[79] became ruler of eastern Spain. He concerned himself with this particular Qur'ânic discipline, because he was held to it by his master, al-Manṣûr b. Abî 'Âmir, who made every effort to instruct him (in it) and to have him study (it) with the authoritative Qur'ân readers at his court. Thus, he acquired a very good knowledge of it. Later on, Mujâhid became amir of Denia and the eastern islands (the Baleares). As a result, the reading of the Qur'ân was greatly cultivated there, because he was an authority in it and because he was much concerned with all sciences in general and with the reading of the Qur'ân in particular. In his time, there appeared Abû 'Amr ad-Dânî.[80] He achieved the greatest perfection in the reading of the Qur'ân. The knowledge of it rests with him, and its transmission in its entirety goes through him. He composed numerous works on the subject, which became the authoritative works, and people no longer consulted anyone else.[81] Among (ad-Dânî's) works, the *Kitâb at-taysîr* became the general reference work.

In the times and generations closely following that, there appeared Abû l-Qâsim b. Fîrruh (ash-Shâṭibî), of Játiva.[82] He set out to correct and abridge the systematic works of Abû 'Amr (ad-Dânî). He versified the whole material in a poem in which he referred cryptically to the names of the Qur'ân readers by the letters of the alphabet, according to his own arrangement. His purpose was to be as brief as he could be and to make the subject easier to memorize by means of the rhymed form. He skillfully compressed the whole subject in his poem. People undertook to memorize it and to teach it to children studying (the subject). That was the practice in the cities of the Maghrib and Spain. II, 390

[79] Mujâhid, ruler of Denia and the Baleares, d. 436 [1044/45]. Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal in *EI*, *s.v.* "Mudjâhid."

[80] 'Uthmân b. Sa'îd, 372–444 [982/83–1053]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 407; *Suppl.*, I, 719 f.

[81] Bulaq corrects the text to "any other work."

[82] Al-Qâsim b. Fîrruh, 538–590 [1143/44–1194]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 409 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 725 ff. Cf. 3:396, below.

The discipline of Qur'ân readings is often extended to include also the discipline of Qur'ân orthography (*rasm*), which deals with usage of the letters in copies of the Qur'ân and with the orthography of the Qur'ân. The Qur'ân contains many letters that are used differently than is usual in writing. There is, for instance, the addition of the *y* in *bi-ayydin* "with hands (power)";[83] the addition of the *alif* in *la'-'adhbaḥannahû* "I shall indeed slaughter him"[84] and in *wa-la'-'awḍa'û* "and, indeed, they would walk swiftly";[85] the addition of the *w* in *jazâ'uw-ẓ-ẓâlimîna* "the sinners' reward";[86] and the omission of the *alif* in some places and not in others. Then, there are the *t*'s that are written in the Qur'ân with the letter *t*, while they should be written with the *h* with two dots over it, and other things. An explanation of Qur'ânic orthography was given earlier in connection with the discussion of writing.[87]

When the divergences in the usage and norm of writing made their appearance, it became necessary to deal with them comprehensively. Therefore, they, too, were written down, when scholars fixed the sciences in writing. In the West, they reached the afore-mentioned Abû 'Amr ad-Dânî. He wrote a number of books about them, the best known being the *Kitâb al-Muqni'*. People took up the book and employed it as a reference work. Abû l-Qâsim (b. Fîrruh) ash-Shâṭibî versified the (*Kitâb al-Muqni'*) in his famous poem rhyming on *r*. People eagerly memorized that poem.

Then, there were more orthographic divergences which concerned other words and letters. (These words and letters)
II, 391 were mentioned by Abû Dâwûd Sulaymân b. Najâḥ,[88] a client of Mujâhid, in his works. He was a pupil of Abû 'Amr ad-Dânî, and famous for the fact that he preserved ad-Dânî's learning and transmitted his works.

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[83] Qur'ân 51.47 (47). Cf. p. 383, above.
[84] Qur'ân 27.21 (21). Cf. p. 383, above.
[85] Qur'ân 9.47 (47).
[86] Qur'ân 5.29 (32); 59.17 (17).
[87] Cf. pp. 382 ff., above.
[88] 413–496 [1022/23–1103]. Cf. Ibn al-'Imâd, *Shadharât*, III, 403 f.

After him, other divergences came up. A modern Maghribî scholar, al-Kharrâz,[89] composed another *rajaz* poem. In it, he added many divergences to those of the *Muqni'*. He indicated (in each instance) who their transmitters were. This poem became famous in the Maghrib.

People now memorized only it, and they discarded in its favor the works of Abû Dâwûd, Abû 'Amr, and ash-Shâṭibî on Qur'ân orthography.[90]

Qur'ân interpretation

It should be known that the Qur'ân was revealed in the language of the Arabs and according to their rhetorical methods. All Arabs understood it and knew the meaning of the individual words and composite statements. It was revealed in chapters and verses, in order to explain the oneness of God and the religious duties according to the (various) occasions.

Some passages of the Qur'ân concern articles of faith. Others concern the duties of the limbs of the body. Some are early and are followed by other, later passages that abrogate the earlier ones.

The Prophet used to explain these things, as it is said: "So that you may explain to the people that which was revealed to them." [91] He used to explain the unclear statements (in the Qur'ân) [92] and to distinguish the abrogating statements from those abrogated by them, and to inform the men around him in this sense. The men around him, thus, became acquainted with (the subject). They knew why individual verses had been revealed, and the situation that had required them, directly on (Muḥammad's) authority. Thus, the verse

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[89] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *ca.* 703 [1303]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 248; *Suppl.*, II, 439 f.

[90] Cf. T. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergsträsser, and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorâns* (Leipzig, 1909–38), III, 26; G. Bergsträsser in *Der Islam*, XX (1932), 5.

[91] Qur'ân 16.44 (46). The passage is not found in Bulaq.

[92] For *mujmal* as a technical term of Qur'ânic scholarship, cf. as-Suyûṭî, *Itqân*, II, 19 f. (Ch. XLVI).

of the Qur'ân, "When God's help comes and the victory," [93] refers to the announcement of the Prophet's death, and similar things.

These (explanations) were transmitted on the authority of the men around Muḥammad and were circulated by the men of the second generation after them on their authority.
II, 392 They continued to be transmitted among the early Muslims, until knowledge became organized in scholarly disciplines and systematic scholarly works were written. At that time, most of these (explanations) were committed to writing. The traditional information concerning them, which had come down from the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation, was transmitted farther. That (material) reached aṭ-Ṭabarî, al-Wâqidî, ath-Tha'âlibî,[94] and other Qur'ân interpreters. They committed to writing as much of the traditional information as God wanted them to do.

The linguistic sciences then became technical discussions of the lexicographical meaning of words, the rules governing vowel endings (*i'râb*), and style (*balâghah*) in (the use of) word combinations. Systematic works were written on these subjects. Formerly, these subjects had been habits with the Arabs.[95] No recourse to oral and written transmission had been necessary with respect to them. Now, that (state of affairs) was forgotten, and these subjects were learned from the books of philologists. They were needed for the interpretation of the Qur'ân, because the Qur'ân is in Arabic and follows the stylistic technique of the Arabs. Qur'ân interpretation thus came to be handled in two ways.

One (kind of Qur'ân interpretation) is traditional. It is based upon information received from the early Muslims. It consists of knowledge of the abrogating verses and of the verses that are abrogated by them, of the reasons why a

[93] Qur'ân 110.1 (1). According to a tradition ascribed to Ibn 'Abbâs, the coming of victory indicates the imminent death of the Prophet. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, III, 387.

[94] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, d. 427 [1035], more commonly known as ath-Tha'labî. Cf. *GAL*, I, 350 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 592.

[95] Cf., for instance, 3:342 f., below.

(given) verse was revealed, and of the purposes of individual verses. All this can be known only through traditions based on the authority of the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation. The early scholars had already made complete compilations on the subject. However, their works and the information they transmit contain side by side important and unimportant matters, accepted and rejected statements. The reason is that the Arabs had no books or scholarship. The desert attitude and illiteracy prevailed among them. When they wanted to know certain things that human beings are usually curious to know, such as the reasons for the existing things, the beginning of creation, and II, 593
the secrets of existence, they consulted the earlier People of the Book about it and got their information from them. The People of the Book were the Jews who had the Torah, and the Christians who followed the religion of (the Jews). Now, the people of the Torah who lived among the Arabs at that time were themselves Bedouins. They knew only as much about these matters as is known to ordinary People of the Book (in contrast to learned rabbis).[96] The majority of those Jews were Ḥimyarites who had adopted Judaism. When they became Muslims, they clung to the (information) they possessed, such as information about the beginning of creation and information of the type of forecasts and predictions. That information had no connection with the (Jewish or Christian) religious laws they were preserving as theirs. Such men were Ka'b al-aḥbâr,[97] Wahb b. Munabbih,[98] 'Abdallâh b. Salâm,[99] and similar people. The Qur'ân commentaries were filled with material of such tendencies transmitted on their authority. It is information that entirely depends on them. It has no relation to (religious) laws, such that one might claim for it the soundness that would make it necessary to act (in accordance with it). The Qur'ân interpreters were not very

[96] Cf. p. 207, above.
[97] Cf. 1:26, above.
[98] Cf. p. 205, above.
[99] Cf. J. Horovitz in *EI*, *s.v.* "'Abd Allâh b. Salâm."

rigorous in this respect. They filled the Qur'ân commentaries with such material, which originated, as we have stated, with the people of the Torah who lived in the desert and were not capable of verifying the information they transmitted. However, they were famous and highly esteemed, because they were people of rank in (their) religion and religious group. Therefore, their interpretation has been accepted from that time onwards.

Later, scholars applied themselves to verification and critical investigation. Abû Muḥammad b. 'Aṭîyah,[100] a recent Maghribî scholar, made his appearance. He abridged all the
II, 394 commentaries and selected the most likely interpretations. He set that material down in a good book, which is in general circulation among the inhabitants of the Maghrib and of Spain. Al-Qurṭubî [101] adopted his method in this respect in another work, which is well known in the East.

The other kind of Qur'ân interpretation has recourse to linguistic knowledge, such as lexicography [102] and the stylistic form (*balâghah*) used for conveying meaning through the appropriate means and methods.[103] This kind of Qur'ân interpretation rarely appears separately from the first kind. The first kind is the one that is wanted essentially. The second kind made its appearance only after language and the philological sciences had become crafts. However, it has become preponderant, as far as certain Qur'ân commentaries are concerned.

The commentary in which this discipline is best represented is the *Kitâb al-Kashshâf* by az-Zamakhsharî,[104] of Khuwârizm in the 'Irâq. However, its author is a Mu'tazilah

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[100] 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq b. Ghâlib, 481 [1088/89] to *ca.* 542 [1147]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 412; *Suppl.*, I, 732.

[101] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farḥ, d. 671 [1273]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 415 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 737.

[102] Bulaq adds: "and the vowel endings (*i'râb*) . . ."

[103] For the term "method" (*uslûb*) as used in literary criticism, cf. 3:375 to 381, below.

[104] Maḥmûd b. 'Umar, 467–538 [1075–1144]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 289 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 507 ff. To connect Khuwârizm with the 'Irâq, even the "non-Arab 'Irâq," is a mistake by Ibn Khaldûn.

in his dogmatic views. Therefore, he uses the various methods of rhetoric (*balâghah*), arguing in favor of the pernicious doctrines of the Mu'tazilah, wherever he believed they occurred in the verses of the Qur'ân. Competent orthodox scholars have, therefore, come to disregard his work and to warn everyone against its pitfalls. However, they admit that he is on firm ground in everything relating to language and style (*balâghah*). If the student of the work is acquainted with the orthodox dogmas and knows the arguments in their defense, he is no doubt safe from its fallacies. Therefore, he should seize the opportunity to study it, because it contains remarkable and varied linguistic information.[105]

Recently, a work by an 'Irâqî scholar, Sharaf-ad-dîn aṭ-Ṭîbî,[106] of Tabrîz in the non-Arab 'Irâq, has reached us. It is a commentary on the work of az-Zamakhsharî. Aṭ-Ṭîbî II, *395* follows az-Zamakhsharî's work literally, but opposes its Mu'tazilah dogmas and arguments, showing their lack of validity and (always) explaining that an eloquent style exists in a given verse but it reflects the opinions of orthodox Muslims, and not the dogmas of the Mu'tazilah. He does that very well, and he also possesses all the various disciplines of rhetoric (*balâghah*).

"And He knows more than any scholar." [107]

[11] *The sciences concerned with Prophetic traditions.*

The sciences concerned with Prophetic traditions (*ḥadîth*) are numerous and varied. One of them concerns abrogating and abrogated traditions. The permission to abrogate (previous statements) and the occurrence of abrogation have been established in our religious law. It is a favor shown by God to His servants and a kind of relief granted them to help them along in matters affecting their well-being (*maṣâliḥ*) for

[105] Cf. 3:338 f., below.

[106] Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallâh, d. 743 [1343]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 64; *Suppl.*, II, 67. Ibn Zamrak, the wazir of Granada, asked Ibn Khaldûn, among other things, to procure for him in Egypt a copy of aṭ-Ṭîbî's commentary. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 273.

[107] Qur'ân 12.76 (76).

which He is responsible to them. God said: "Whenever We abrogate a verse or consign it to oblivion, We bring one that is better, or as good."[108]

The [109] knowledge of abrogating and abrogated verses belongs both to the Qur'ân and to the traditions. Everything about (abrogation), as far as it concerns the Qur'ân, is included in the Qur'ân commentaries. Whatever is restricted to traditions falls under the sciences of tradition.

Two traditions may be mutually exclusive, and it may be difficult to reconcile them with the help of interpretation. If, in such a case, it is known that one is earlier than the other, it is definite that the later (tradition) abrogates (the earlier one).

This is one of the most important and difficult of the sciences of tradition. Az-Zuhrî [110] said: "It has been a baffling and impossible task for the jurists to distinguish traditions of the Messenger of God abrogating others, from those that were abrogated by them." Ash-Shâfi'î was firmly grounded in this subject.

II, *396* *Another [111] of the sciences of tradition is the knowledge of the norms that leading *ḥadîth* scholars have invented in order to know the chains of transmitters, the (individual) transmitters, their names, how the transmission took place, their conditions, their classes, and their different technical

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Another of the sciences of tradition is that concerned with the chains of transmitters and with knowledge of the traditions in accordance with which one must act because they are provided with chains of transmitters fulfilling all the conditions (of

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[108] Qur'ân 2.106 (100).

[109] This paragraph is found in C and D.

[110] The statement of az-Zuhrî, as well as the remark concerning ash-Shâfi'î, is derived from Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, *Muqaddimah*, p. 238 (Ch. XXXIV). The remark concerning ash-Shâfi'î is slightly differently worded in Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, showing that Ibn Khaldûn probably quoted from memory. Muḥammad b. Muslim az-Zuhrî died between 740 and 743. Cf. 1:17, above.

[111] The text of this section was considerably changed by Ibn Khaldûn in his later years. The upper text is that of the latest recension as represented by C and D, the lower text, in italic type, is that found in Bulaq, A, and B.

terminologies. This is because general consensus makes it obligatory to act in accordance with information established on the authority of the Messenger of God. This requires probability for the assumption that the information is true. Thus, the independent student must verify all the means by II, 397
which it is possible to make such an assumption.

He may do this by scrutinizing the chains of transmitters of traditions. For that purpose, one may use such knowledge of the probity, accuracy, thoroughness, and lack of carelessness or negligence, as the most reliable Muslims describe a transmitter as possessing.

Then, there are the differences in rank that exist among transmitters.

Further, there is the way the transmission took place. The transmitter may have heard the *shaykh* (dictate the tradition), or he may have read (it from a book) in his presence, or he may have heard (it) read in the presence of the *shaykh* and the *shaykh* may have written (it) down for him, or he may have obtained the approval of the *shaykh* for written material (*munâwalah*), or he may have obtained his permission to teach certain traditions (*ijâzah*).

<Then, there is the difference> with regard to the (degree of) soundness or acceptability of the transmitted material.[112] The highest grade of transmitted material is called "sound"

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trustworthiness). One must act only in accordance with those traditions of the Messenger of God that, in all probability, are true. How it is possible to assume probability must be investigated by independent study. One gets to (the assumption of probability) through knowledge of the probity and accuracy of the transmitters of traditions. Such knowledge is established through information obtained on the authority of religious leaders, which declares a transmitter to be reliable and free from unreliability or negligence. This shows us whether we should accept their (traditions) or reject them.

[112] The text of C and D (*wa-l-qubûl manqûl 'anhum*) should be corrected to *wa-qubûl al-manqûl 'anhum*.

by (the *ḥadîth* scholars). Next comes "good." The lowest grade is "weak." (The classification of traditions) includes also: "skipping the first transmitter on Muḥammad's authority" (*mursal*), "omitting one link" (*munqaṭi'*), "omitting two links" (*mu'ḍal*), "affected by some infirmity" (*mu'allal*), "singular" (*shâdhdh*), "unusual" (*gharîb*), and "singular and suspect" (*munkar*).[113] In some cases, there is a difference of opinion as to whether (traditions so described) should be rejected. In other cases, there is general agreement that (they should be rejected). The same is [114] the case with (traditions with) sound chains. In some cases, there is general agreement as to their acceptability and soundness, whereas, in other cases, there are differences of opinion. *Ḥadîth* scholars differ greatly in their explanations of these terms.

Then, there follows the discussion of terms applying to

Furthermore, knowledge of the transmitters includes knowing and distinguishing the different ranks of the individual transmitters among the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation.

The chains of transmitters also differ in respect to continuity or lack of continuity, in that a transmitter may not have known personally the transmitter on whose authority he transmits a tradition. They also differ in respect to their freedom from weaknesses which may affect them adversely. These differences lead to (the designation of) two kinds of chains, and the rule is that the "highest" [115] *chain is to be accepted, and the "lowest" chain to be rejected. There are differences of opinion with regard to the intermediate kind, according to the transmitted statements of authorities on the subject. They have invented technical terms for (classifying) the various grades (of reliability), such as "sound," "good," "weak," "skipping the first transmitter on Muḥammad's authority"* (mursal), *"omitting one link"* (munqaṭi'), *"omitting two links"* (mu'ḍal), *"singular"* (shâdhdh), *"un-*

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[113] Cf. also p. 393, above.

[114] *Wa-ka-dhâlika:* C and D.

[115] I.e., the chain with the fewest links.

the texts of the traditions. A text may be "unusual" (*gharîb*), "difficult" (ambiguous, *mushkil*), "(affected by some) misspelling (or misreading)," or "(containing) homonyms" (*muftariq*), or "(containing) homographs" (*mukhtalif*).[116]

On [117] all these points, *ḥadîth* scholars have laid down a canon explaining the (various) grades and terms, and adequate to protect the transmission from possible defects. The first outstanding *ḥadîth* scholar to lay down such a canon was Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḥâkim.[118] He improved it and presented it to its best advantage. His works on the subject are famous.

Other leading *ḥadîth* scholars followed him and wrote works on the subject. The most famous work by a modern scholar on the subject is the book of Abû 'Amr b. aṣ-Ṣalâḥ.[119] He lived in the early part of the seventh [thirteenth] century. II, *398*
His example was followed by Muḥyî-ad-dîn an-Nawawî.[120]

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usual" (gharîb), *and the other terms in use among them. Each term has been treated by itself, and the existing disagreements or agreements among linguistic authorities concerning each term have been noted.*

Further, there is the study of how the transmission took place. It may have taken place by reading (qirâ'ah), *by writing*

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[116] The terms *muftariq* and *mukhtalif* are not usually employed as specific terms referring to the text of traditions. Possibly they are intended to stand for *muttafiq*-and-*muftariq* or *mu'talif*-and-*mukhtalif*. The former of these compound terms usually signifies instances of the same proper names designating different persons; the latter signifies names spelled alike but pronounced differently. Cf. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 333 ff. (Chs. LIII & LIV). *Mukhtalif* also occurs in the science of traditions in discussion of "contradictory" traditions, and may be applied to them whether they are reconcilable or not. Cf. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, pp. 244 f. (Ch. XXXVI). This, apparently, was in de Slane's mind when he listed *mukhtalif* as meaning "contradictory but reconcilable." Cf. his translation, II, 484.

[117] In the earlier text, the following discussion appears later on, p. 456, below.

[118] Cf. 1:187, above.

[119] 'Uthmân b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, 577–643 [1181–1245]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 358 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 610 ff. His famous "introduction" (*Muqaddimah*) to the science of *ḥadîth* was well known to Ibn Khaldûn. Cf. p. 448 (n. 110), above, and p. 459 (n. 153), below.

[120] Cf. 1:393, above.

The purpose of the discipline is a noble one. It is concerned with the knowledge of how to preserve the traditions (*sunan*) transmitted on the authority of the Master of the religious law (Muḥammad), until it is definite which are to be accepted and which are to be rejected.

It should be known that the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation who transmitted the Sunnah were well known in the cities of Islam. There were transmitters in the Ḥijâz, in al-Baṣrah and al-Kûfah, and then in Syria and Egypt. They were famous in their time. The transmitters of the Ḥijâz had fewer links in their chains of transmitters (than others), and they were sounder (transmitters),

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(kitâbah), *by getting the approval of the authority for written material* (munâwalah), *or by obtaining the permission of the authority to teach certain traditions* (ijâzah). *One must study the difference in grade assigned to these different types of transmission, and one must also study the differences of opinion among scholars about what is to be accepted here and what to be rejected.*

Then, there follows the discussion of terms applying to the texts of traditions. A text may be "unusual" (gharîb), *or "difficult" (ambiguous,* mushkil), *or "(affected by some) misspelling (or misreading)," or "(containing) homonyms"* (muftariq), or *"(containing) homographs"* (mukhtalif), *or something else of this sort.*

This constitutes the largest and preponderant part of the studies of ḥadîth *scholars.*

The conditions of the transmitters of traditions in early Muslim times, the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation, were known to the people of their respective countries. There were transmitters in the Ḥijâz, in the 'Irâq in al-Baṣrah and al-Kûfah, and in Syria and Egypt. All of them were well known and famous in their day. The people of the Ḥijâz in these (early) times had fewer links in their chains of transmitters than others, and they were sounder (transmitters), because they insisted upon probity and accuracy as (necessary)

because they were reluctant to accept (as reliable transmitters) those who were obscure and whose conditions were not known.*

After the early Muslims, the master of the Ḥijâzî tradition was the imam Mâlik, the leading scholar of Medina. Then came his colleagues, such as the imam Muḥammad b. Idrîs ash-Shâfi'î, Ibn Wahb,[121] Ibn Bukayr,[122] al-Qa'nabî,[123] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,[124] and after them, the imam Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and other later scholars.

At the beginning, knowledge of the religious law was entirely based on (oral) tradition. It involved no speculation, no use of opinion, and no intricate reasoning.[125] The early Muslims occupied themselves with it, selecting the sound material, and thus eventually perfected it. Mâlik wrote the *Kitâb al-Muwaṭṭa'* according to the Ḥijâzî tradition,[126] in which he laid down the principal laws on the basis of sound, generally agreed-upon (material). He arranged the work according to juridical categories.

The *ḥadîth* experts concerned themselves with knowledge of the recensions of traditions and of the different chains of

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conditions of transmission. They were reluctant to accept (as a reliable transmitter) anyone whose condition in these respects was not known.

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[121] 'Abdallâh b. Wahb, 125–197 [743–812/13]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 257.

[122] Yaḥyâ b. 'Abdallâh b. Bukayr, 154–231 [771–845]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, XI, 237 f.; he is referred to as Ibn Bukayr *ibid.*, XII, 287. Cf. also *Autobiography*, pp. 298, 305 (n. 1).

[123] 'Abdallâh b. Maslamah, d. 221 [835/36]. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, VI, 31 ff.

[124] This is presumably Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Wâsiṭî al-Muzanî, to whom al-Bukhârî gives some prominence in his *Ta'rîkh*, and who is said to have died in 187 [803]. Cf. al-Bukhârî, *Ta'rîkh*, I [1], 67 f; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhîb*, IX, 118–20. A less likely candidate is Ibn Zabâlah, who wrote *ca.* 199 [814]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 137. There are many *ḥadîth* scholars called Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, none of them particularly prominent.

[125] This sentence is found in C and D.

[126] The reference to the Ḥijâzî tradition is found in C and D. For Ibn Khaldûn's lecture on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, cf. 1:lx, above.

transmitters, such [127] as the Ḥijâzî and the 'Irâqî transmissions and others. A certain tradition may be known in one
II, 399 way only or in numerous ways, and it may be repeated in (different) chapters (of works of jurisprudence) because it deals with several subjects.

There was Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl al-Bukhârî, the leading *ḥadîth* scholar of his time. In his *Musnad aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, he widened the area of tradition and [128] published the orthodox traditions arranged according to subject. He combined all the different ways of the Ḥijâzîs, 'Irâqîs, and Syrians, accepting the material upon which they all agreed, but excluding the material concerning which there were differences of opinion. He repeated a (given) tradition in every chapter upon which the contents of that particular tradition had some bearing. Therefore, his traditions were repeated in several chapters, because a (single) tradition may deal with different subjects, as we have indicated. His work thus comprised 7,200 traditions,[129] of which 3,000 are repeated. In each chapter, he kept separate the recensions with the different chains of transmitters belonging to them.

Then came the imam Muslim b. al-Ḥajjâj al-Qushayrî. He composed his *Musnad aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, in which he followed al-Bukhârî, in that he transmitted the material that was generally agreed upon, but he omitted the repetitions and did not keep the recensions and chains of transmitters separate. He arranged his work according to juridical categories and the chapter headings of jurisprudence.

Scholars have corrected the two (authors), noting the cases of the sound traditions not (included in their works).[130]

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[127] The rest of the paragraph as in C and D. The earlier texts have: "A tradition may be transmitted in numerous ways and on the authority of different transmitters. A tradition may also occur in several chapters because it deals with different subjects."

[128] The first half of the sentence in C and D. *Musnad* has here the general meaning of "collection of traditions."

[129] Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, *Muqaddimah*, p. 15 (Ch. 1), has 7,275.

[130] A and B read: "Still, those two (works) do not include all sound traditions. Therefore, scholars have corrected the two (authors) in this respect." The rest of the paragraph is omitted.

They have mentioned the cases where (they) neglected (to include traditions which, according to) the conditions governing the inclusion of traditions in their works, (should have been included).

Abû Dâwûd as-Sijistânî, Abû 'Îsâ at-Tirmidhî, and Abû 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân an-Nasâ'î [131] wrote *sunan* works which included more than merely "sound" traditions. Their intention was to include all traditions that amply fulfilled the conditions making them actionable traditions. They were either traditions with few links in the chain of transmitters, which makes them sound (traditions), as is (generally) acknowledged, or they were lesser traditions, such as "good" traditions and others. It was to serve as a guide to orthodox practice.

* These [132] are the collections of traditions that are used as reference works in Islam. They are the chief orthodox works on traditions. Other collections have been added to these five, such as the *Musnad*s of Abû Dâwûd aṭ-Ṭayâlisî,[133] al-Bazzâr,[134] 'Abd b. Ḥumayd,[135] ad-Dârimî,[136] Abû Ya'lâ al-Mawṣilî,[137] and the imam Aḥmad. According to Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, their intention was to collect the material transmitted on the authority of the men around Muḥammad that cannot be used as argument. II, 400

These are the collections of traditions that are famous in Islam. They are the chief orthodox works on traditions. Though ḥadîth *works are numerous, reference is as a rule made to the (books mentioned).*

The knowledge of all these conditions and technical terms is the science of tradition. The subject of abrogating and abrogated

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[131] A, B, C, and D: an-Nasawî.

[132] The upper text is that of the later recension (C and D).

[133] Sulaymân b. Dâwûd, d. 203 or 204 [819]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 257.

[134] Aḥmad b. 'Amr, d. 291 or 292 [904/905]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 258.

[135] Died 249 [863]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 257 f.

[136] 'Abdallâh b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân, 181–255 [797–869]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 270.

[137] Aḥmad b. 'Alî, d. 307 [919/20]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 258.

However, it has been transmitted on the authority of the imam Aḥmad, that he used to say to his son 'Abdallâh concerning his own *Musnad*, which includes 31,000 traditions—and the same statement by Aḥmad is also transmitted (in the same words) on the authority of a number of his companions, who said that he had instructed them in his *Musnad*—: "This work is a selection from among 750,000 traditions. The Prophetic traditions concerning which the Muslims hold divergent opinions (of their genuineness), and which you do not find in it, cannot be used as arguments." This shows that all the material in his *Musnad* can properly be used as argument. This is the opposite of what has been said by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ. I have quoted (Aḥmad's) statement from the *Manâqib al-Imâm Aḥmad* by Ibn al-Jawzî.[138]*

II, 401 At this time, traditions are no longer published, nor are the (publications of) traditions by former scholars corrected. Common (experience) attests the fact that these numerous religious leaders, close to each other in time, were too capable and too firmly possessed of independent judgment to

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traditions is occasionally taken out and treated as a discipline by itself. The same applies to "unusual" traditions. There are famous works by scholars on that subject. Then, there are the homonyms. Scholars have written a great many works on the science of traditions. An outstanding ḥadîth *scholar was Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḥâkim. His works on the subject are famous. He improved the science of tradition and presented it to its best advantage.*[139]

The most famous work by a modern scholar on the subject is the book by Abû 'Amr b. aṣ-Ṣalâḥ. He lived in the early part of the seventh [thirteenth] century. His example was followed by Muḥyî-ad-dîn an-Nawawî.

The purpose of the discipline is a noble one. It is concerned with the knowledge of how to preserve the traditions (sunan) *transmitted on the authority of the Master of the religious law.*

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[138] (Cairo, 1349/1930–31), pp. 191 f. (Ch. XXVII).

[139] Cf. 1:187, and p. 451, above.

have neglected or omitted any tradition, so that it is impossible that some later scholar might discover one.[140] (Therefore,) at this time, one is concerned with correcting the principal written works, with fixing the accuracy of their transmission, and [141] with establishing continuous chains of transmitters leading back to the authors, chains that are sound throughout. With very few exceptions, no attention has been paid to more than the five main works.

Al-Bukhârî's *Ṣaḥîḥ* occupies the highest rank among them. People have considered it difficult to comment on the *Ṣaḥîḥ* and have found it rather complicated, because it requires a knowledge of numerous recensions and personages from the Ḥijâz, Syria, and the 'Irâq, as well as knowledge of their conditions and of the different opinions of scholars about them. Constant study is also required to understand the subject headings. Al-Bukhârî would make a chapter heading and mention under it a tradition with a certain chain of transmitters or in a certain recension. Then, he would make another subject heading and mention the very same tradition under it, because it (also) deals with the subject of that particular chapter. This applies to every chapter heading, so that the tradition may be repeated in separate [142] chapters according to the various different subjects it deals with.

A study [143] of the chapter headings should clearly indicate the relation that exists between them and the traditions the chapter contains. However, in many cases, this relation is II, 402
obscure, and people have lengthily tried to explain it.

This happened in connection with the chapter heading: "The House will be destroyed by an Abyssinian with two

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[140] The earlier text adds here: "They are unlikely to have done such a thing."

[141] From here to the end of the sentence, the translation follows C and D. The earlier text reads: ". . . on the authority of their authors, and studying the chains of transmitters, examining all that in the light of the conditions and laws established in the science of tradition, so that the chains of transmitters (can be considered as) continuous and well established throughout."

[142] *Sic* C and D. The earlier text has "many."

[143] The text from here to p. 459, l. 3, is found in C and D.

little legs." [144] It occurs in the book on "Disturbances" (*fitan*). Then, (al-Bukhârî) quotes the Qur'ân: "And when we made the House a meeting place for the people and a place of safety." [145] Nothing is said of the matter mentioned in the chapter heading, and the relationship between the chapter heading and the chapter has remained obscure to scholars. Some have said that the author wrote all the chapter headings down in his draft and wrote the traditions under each chapter heading later, whenever he had the opportunity. He died before he was able to fill in all the chapter headings, and his work was transmitted in this (incomplete form).

However, as I learned from the companions of Judge Ibn Bakkâr,[146] the judge of Granada who died in the battle of Tarifa in the year 741 [1340],[147] and who was well versed in the *Ṣaḥîḥ* of al-Bukhârî, the chapter heading (quoted) was intended by al-Bukhârî to interpret the verse of the Qur'ân in the sense that it dealt with "something established by law," and not with "something appointed by divine decree." [148] The difficulty results from interpreting "we made" in the sense of "we appointed by divine decree." If (the word in question) is interpreted in the sense of "we established by law," there is no confusion (or contradiction) in the (chapter heading saying that) a man with two little legs will destroy (the House). I learned this explana-

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[144] Cf. *Concordance*, II, 16*b*; III, 32*b*, Al-Bukhârî quotes the tradition twice in the book on the pilgrimage in the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, but not as a chapter heading, and he does not quote it in the book on *fitan*, according to Krehl's edition of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*.

The tradition occurs in the book on *fitan* in the *Ṣaḥîḥ* of Muslim, at II, 688, of the ed. Calcutta, 1265/1849.

[145] Qur'ân 2.125 (119).

[146] He is Abû 'Abdallâh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ, 674–741 [1276–1340], who, however, is called Ibn Bakr in Ibn al-Khaṭîb, *al-Iḥâṭah*, II, 125 ff., and in the works that depend on it: Ibn Ḥajar, *ad-Durar al-kâminah*, IV, 284; Ibn al-'Imâd, *Shadharât*, VI, 132 f. Cf., further, an-Nubâhî, *al-Marqabah al-'ulyâ*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal: *Histoire des Juges d'Andalousie* . . . (Cairo, 1948), pp. 141 ff., where the date of his birth is given as 673 [1275].

[147] Ibn Khaldûn erroneously says 740, according to both MSS.

[148] If the Ka'bah was appointed as a place of safety by divine decree, nobody could destroy it. A law, however, can be transgressed, and the Ka'bah thus could be destroyed.

tion from our teacher, Abû l-Barakât al-Ballafîqî,[149] who had it on the authority of (Ibn Bakkâr). Al-Ballafîqî was one of his most important pupils.

Commentators who do not exhaust such problems do not completely fulfill their duties as commentators. Commentators of this sort include Ibn Baṭṭâl,[150] Ibn al-Muhallab,[151] Ibn at-Tîn,[152] and others. I have heard many of our teachers say: "The Muslims still have the obligation to write a commentary on al-Bukhârî." They meant that no Muslim scholar has so far completely fulfilled the task of a commentator in the sense indicated. II, 403

The *Ṣaḥîḥ* of Muslim has been given much attention by Maghribî scholars. They applied themselves to it and agreed that it was superior to the work of al-Bukhârî. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ said: [153] "It is considered superior (by Maghribîs and other scholars) to the work of al-Bukhârî, because it is free from admixtures of material that is not sound and that al-Bukhârî wrote down disregarding his own conditions (of soundness), mostly in connection with the chapter headings."

The imam al-Mâzarî,[154] a Mâlikite jurist, dictated a commentary on the *Ṣaḥîḥ* of Muslim which he entitled *al-Mu'lim bi-fawâ'id Muslim*. It contains much important source material from the science of tradition and solid juridical knowledge. The work was later on perfected by Judge 'Iyâḍ.[155] He called his work *Ikmâl al-Mu'lim*. The two of them were followed by Muḥyî-ad-dîn an-Nawawî with a commentary containing all the material of the two works and adding to it, thus becoming a complete commentary.

The other three collections of traditions contain the most

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[149] Cf. I:xlii, above.

[150] 'Alî b. Khalaf, d. 449 [1057]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 261.

[151] Unidentified.

[152] Unidentified.

[153] The preference for Muslim's work is not shared by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ. This is made clear in his *Muqaddimah*, p. 14 (Ch. 1). Ibn Khaldûn's statement is a rather free quotation of that chapter, from memory.

[154] Muḥammad b. 'Alî, 453–536 [1061–1141/42]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 663.

[155] 'Iyâḍ b. Mûsâ, 476–544 [1083–1149]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 369 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 630 ff.

extensive source material for jurists. Most comment on (that material) is found in the law books, except for those things that are peculiar to the science of tradition. Scholars wrote on (that material) and exhaustively presented in this respect as much as was needed of the sciences of tradition, their subjects, and the collections which contain traditions considered (norms) for action.

It should be known that, at this time, traditions are classified in grade as "sound," "good," "weak," "ill," and so on. The classification was fixed and made known by the leading
II, 404 *ḥadîth* authorities. It is no longer possible to declare a tradition sound, that had not been (known as) sound before. The *ḥadîth* authorities made known the traditions in their various recensions and with their chains of transmitters. They were so thorough in this respect that, if a tradition had been transmitted with a chain of transmitters or in a recension not belonging to it, they would have realized that it had been tampered with. Something of the sort happened to the imam Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl [156] al-Bukhârî. He came to Baghdad, and the *ḥadîth* scholars wanted to examine him. They asked him about several traditions, transposing the chains of transmitters (cited). He said: "I do not know those traditions, but I was told by so-and-so . . ." and then he repeated all the traditions in the correct order, supplying each text with the chain of transmitters to which it belonged. The *ḥadîth* scholars (in Baghdad), in consequence, acknowledged (al-Bukhârî's) leadership.[157]

It should also be known that religious leaders of independent judgment differed in the extent of their knowledge of traditions. It is said that the (number of) traditions that Abû Ḥanîfah transmitted came to only seventeen or so.[158] Mâlik accepted as sound only the traditions found in the *Muwaṭṭa'*. They are at most three hundred or so. Aḥmad b.

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[156] D adds: "b. Ibrâhîm."

[157] Cf. al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd*, II, 20 f.

[158] A marginal note in D expresses great indignation, treating the statement as a brazen lie.

Ḥanbal has 30,000 [159] traditions in his *Musnad*. Each (authority) has as many traditions as his independent judgment in this respect allowed him to have.

A certain biased, unfair person dared to say that some (of the authorities) knew little about traditions and, therefore, did not transmit many. It is impossible to believe such a thing about the great religious leaders. The religious law is derived from the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, and those who know little about traditions definitely have to study and transmit them with eagerness and zeal, in order to be able to derive II, 405
the religion from (its) sound basic principles and to get the laws from their Master (Muḥammad) who brought them from God. Therefore, the great religious leaders who transmitted only a few traditions, did so (not because they knew little about traditions but) because they might have been attacked with regard to the traditions they transmitted, and because their transmission might have been accused of defects, especially since the majority (of scholars) gives preference to negative (as against positive) personality criticism. Therefore, their independent judgment induced them to leave aside traditions and chains of transmitters in which such (defects) might occur and which are numerous. Therefore, they transmitted few traditions, because of the weakness of the ways of transmission. Furthermore, the Ḥijâzîs transmitted more traditions than the 'Irâqîs. Medina was the place to which Muḥammad emigrated and where the men around him made their home. Those of them who moved to the 'Irâq were more occupied with the holy war (than with the transmission of traditions).

The imam Abû Ḥanîfah transmitted only a few traditions, because he was very strict in applying the conditions governing the transmission and retention of traditions. He declared traditions weak when they were contradicted by decisive

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[159] Bulaq and A have 50,000, though A has a correction *supra lineam:* 40(000). The figure is corrected in the margin of B, but the correction is cut off in my photostat. C has 50,000 in the text, corrected *supra lineam* to 40,000, and in the margin to 30,000.

logical (arguments). Therefore, it was difficult for him to transmit traditions, and his traditions are few. However, it can by no means be assumed that he purposely omitted to transmit traditions. He would not have done such a thing. He was one of the greatest scholars of independent judgment in the science of tradition. This is proven by the fact that the *ḥadîth* scholars follow his school and refer to it and take it into consideration in rejecting or accepting (arguments).

Other *ḥadîth* scholars, that is, the great majority, permitted a certain latitude in applying the conditions (governing the soundness of traditions). They transmitted many traditions, everyone relying on his own independent judgment. The later (Ḥanafites) permitted a certain latitude in applying the conditions and transmitted many traditions. Aṭ-Ṭaḥâwî [160] was a transmitter who transmitted many traditions. He wrote his *Musnad*, which is an important work. However, it does not have the same value as the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s, because the conditions applied by al-Bukhârî and Muslim in their works are those accepted by the general consensus of all Muslims, as
II, 406 has been said. The conditions applied by aṭ-Ṭaḥâwî, on the other hand, are not generally agreed upon. For instance, he transmits traditions on the authority of persons whose condition is obscure, and other things. Therefore, the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s, as, indeed, the other well-known collections of traditions, are preferable to (aṭ-Ṭaḥâwî), because his conditions are inferior to theirs. Therefore it is said that the two *Ṣaḥîḥ*s are accepted by general consensus, as there is general consensus concerning the soundness of the conditions applied in them and generally agreed upon. No one should be in any doubt about this. Of all people, scholars most deserve that one have a good opinion of them and that one be eager to find sound excuses for them.

Another [161] of the sciences of traditions is the application of this canon to the discussion of the traditions, one by one,

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[160] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, d. 321 [933]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 173 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 293 f.

[161] The rest of the section is found in C and D.

according to their various chapters and headings, by interpreting these collections of traditions.[162] This was done by the *ḥadîth* expert Abû 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-Barr,[163] by Abû Muḥammad b. Ḥazm,[164] by Judge 'Iyâḍ, by Muḥyî-ad-dîn an-Nawawî, and by Ibn al-'Aṭṭâr [165] after ('Iyâḍ and an-Nawawî), and by many other leading religious scholars of the West and the East. It is true that their discussions of the traditions contain other things, such as things that have to do with the text, the lexicography, and the grammar (*i'râb*) of the traditions. Still, their discussions of the chains of transmitters of the traditions in accordance with the *ḥadîth* technique, are more comprehensive and longer (than their discussions of other matters).

These are the various sciences of tradition current among leading contemporary authorities.[166]

God guides toward the truth and helps to (find) it.

[CHAPTER VI IS CONTINUED IN VOLUME 3]

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[162] *Al-masânîd:* C; *al-asânîd* "chains of transmitters": D.

[163] Yûsuf b. 'Abdallâh, 368–463 [978–1071]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 367 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 628 f.

[164] Cf. 1:414, above.

[165] Apparently, an-Nawawî's pupil, 'Alî b. Ibrâhîm, 654–724 [1256–1324]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 85; *Suppl.*, II, 100.

[166] Cf. 1:14 (n. 29), above.